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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1916

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1916

EDITED BY

EDWIN SIDNEY HARTLAND, F.S.A.

VOL. XXXIX

BRISTOL

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY J. W. ARROWSMITH LTD., QUAY STREET

The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society desires that it should be distinctly understood that the Council is not responsible for any statement made, or opinions expressed, in the Transactions of the Society. The Authors are alone responsible for their several Papers and Communications, and the Editor, except in case of signed reviews, for the Notices of Books.

Cases for binding Vols. I to XXXIX, the Index to Vols. I to XX, and other Works printed by this Society for its members, or issued to them with the *Transactions*, will be supplied, and the volumes put in the same by the Society's Binders, Messrs. A. & J. Bolt, Tailor's Court, Broad Street, Bristol, at Two Shillings each; cases alone supplied at 1/3 each.

1396900

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Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Annual General Meeting, At Bristol,

On Monday, July 3rd, 1916.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held, by the courtesy of the Lord Mayor, at the Council House, Bristol, on Monday, July 3rd, 1916.

The retiring President, Mr. C. E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A., took the chair.

The Honorary General Secretary, Mr. Arnold E. Hurry, read the report of the Council for the year ending August 1st, 1916, as follows :—

1. The number of members at this date is approximately 510, as against 543 at the time of last annual meeting. In view, however, of the large number of members engaged with the Forces abroad, it is to be feared that casualties not yet reported to this Society may have occurred, while others may intend to discontinue their subscriptions, at any rate till the war is over. It is therefore impossible to give the present total with any great certainty. There is, unfortunately, grave anxiety as to the safety of one or more of our members at the present time.

2. The accounts for the year 1915 have been audited, and will in due course be printed in the *Transactions*. The Society's Invested Funds, consisting of Consols, were last autumn converted into 4½ per cent. War Loan.

3. The Council have again the sorrow of reporting the death of several distinguished members of the Society.

Earl ST. ALDWYN. At a time when we are deploring the death of Lord St. Aldwyn, and the loss to the whole Empire of his invaluable counsel as one of our most trusted Statesmen, we are reminded of his courtesy some seventeen years ago, when as Chairman of the Economic Assurance Society Directors he did all in his power to further the wishes of the Council with regard to the examination of the site of Hayles Abbey. Without his kind aid, at all times most readily given, it would have been impossible to begin or carry on that interesting work, an account of which will be found in Volume xxii. of our *Transactions*. As Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, he was one of the founders of this Society. In 1899 he received the members at the Old Manor House, Coln St. Aldwyn, his Gloucestershire home, and he joined the Society at the Spring Meeting in 1914.

Lord St. Aldwyn was more than once invited by the Council to act as President, and it was only his onerous work as a member of the Government that compelled him to decline that office.

Alderman C. A. HAYES, who died in February, had been a member for fifteen years. He was Lord Mayor of Bristol 1909 to 1911, and whilst Chief Magistrate received the members at the Lord Mayor's Chapel during the Spring Meeting of 1911. Alderman Hayes took considerable interest in the old city, and on several occasions was helpful in the preservation of antiquities.

Sir E. STAFFORD HOWARD died in April last. He, as Mr. Stafford Howard, was elected President at the Summer Meeting of 1883, held at Bath, his Presidential Address largely relating to Thornbury Castle. He received the Society at his seat at Thornbury two days later, and then read some further notes relating thereto, which are printed in Volume viii. of the *Transactions*. Mr. Stafford Howard also received the members at Thornbury in 1895. He was knighted in 1910.

Canon H. N. ELLACOMBE, Vicar of Bitton, who passed away in February at a great age, had been a member of Council for many years. He was the author of *In a Gloucestershire Garden*, and of *Plant Lore and Garden Craft of Shakespeare*. His garden was famous and his interests were varied and extensive; and for years he was active in many ways.

4. Our members will associate themselves with the Council in their hearty congratulations to one of our members, Mr. James Bruton (five times Mayor of Gloucester), on the honour of Knighthood which H.M. the King was pleased to bestow on him last January. Sir James Bruton has for many years been keenly interested in the Society, and assiduous in promoting its welfare. Lady Bruton also has on many occasions very hospitably entertained the members.

5. It was with regret that the Council felt bound to accede to the request of the Hon. Editor (Rev. G. H. West, D.D.) that he might be allowed to relinquish his duties owing to advancing years and indifferent health. Dr. West, during his tenure of the office, gave a great deal of time to the affairs of the Society, though working under great difficulties, and the members will wish him an early and complete recovery.

Mr. E. Sidney Hartland, F.S.A., a distinguished student of Folk-lore and Anthropology, has very kindly undertaken the duties of Hon. Editor, and the Society is extremely fortunate in having secured his valuable services. The volume of *Transactions* for 1915 will shortly be issued under his supervision.

6. Owing to the war, it was again decided to hold no Spring and Summer Excursions, but the Council have felt that the continuity of the series of *Transactions*, which now extend to thirty-seven volumes, should as far as possible not be interrupted. The sum allotted for this purpose has, however, been somewhat reduced ; and the volumes for 1915 and 1916 will in all probability not be issued in parts as heretofore, but one whole volume at a time.

It is intended to include in the *Transactions* a list of the Seventeenth-century Tokens in the possession of the Society, and from time to time to announce recent additions to the Library, and also notes of recent finds or discoveries made in the Society's district. Members are particularly requested to assist in this work by promptly reporting any information of value that may come to their knowledge.

7. Owing to the necessity for rigid economy in these anxious times, no money has been expended on any excavation or research, and expenditure has, wherever possible, been curtailed. The Society's financial position, however, remains in a satisfactory condition.

8. Nine new members have been elected since last annual meeting. The Council have decided to eliminate from the list two subscribing members resident in the German Empire.

9. Through the kind efforts of one of our members of Council, Mr. James Baker, F.R.G.S., copies of the Contour maps of the Stoke Leigh Camp, near Bristol, have been presented to the Society by the Leigh Woods Management Committee, and are now deposited in the Society's Library at Gloucester.

10. General Index to *Transactions*. This is proceeding steadily, and the compiler reports that all the volumes published since volume xx. have been indexed and checked, and the laborious process of collating the slips is in progress. He has every hope that on the publication of volume xl. the manuscript of the index to volumes xxi. to xl. will be ready for the printers.

11. *County Bibliography.* — The Council records with much satisfaction the successful completion of the original plan of the *Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*, compiled by Mr. F. A. Hyett and Canon Bazeley, and issued to subscribers in the years 1895–97, by the publication of the *Biographical Supplement* to that work. In the preface to the *Manual* the compilers stated that it had been their intention to include references to works of a biographical nature relating to persons connected with Gloucestershire, but owing to the great extent of such literature this had to be abandoned for the time. Mr. Hyett, to whose untiring labours in this and other directions the county owes so much, some years ago decided to publish the biographical portion, and prepared and added very largely to the MSS. already collected, with the result that the *Supplement* now issued comprises over 680 pages, including a lengthy Introduction, and a Table of Localities with which the subjects of the work are connected. The Council congratulate Mr. Hyett on the completion of a project upon which he has spent the leisure time of nearly thirty years, and feel that the county owes a great deal to him for the valuable bibliography it possesses. With the *Manual*, the *Catalogue of Maps* prepared by Mr. Chubb, and the *Biographical Supplement* now referred to, few counties have been so fortunate in the published record of the literature relating to them. Canon Bazeley was unable to collaborate in the *Supplement*, and Mr. Hyett was assisted in its compilation by Mr. Roland Austin, Librarian of the Public Library, Gloucester, and our local secretary for that city.

12. *Library.*—Although the war has diverted the attention of many of the members from archæological pursuits, considerable use has been made of the Society's Library at Gloucester, and many visitors to the city avail themselves of the opportunity given them of consulting

the books. The policy of the Library Committee has been to extend the exchange of publications with other Societies and to complete the sets.

In addition to exchanges of current volumes with other Societies, the following works have been added to the library :—

Transactions of the Thoroton Society, Vols. i.—xvi. ; and *Record Series*, Vols. i.—iv. (in exchange). *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, Vols. i.—xxii. (in exchange). *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vols. xxi.—xxvii., xxix.—xxxvi. ; N.S., Vols. v., vii.—xviii., xxi.—xxix. (in exchange). *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, Vols. xvi.—xxvi. (presented by Rev. James Hussey, of Torquay), and xxix.—xxxiv. (purchased). *Publications of the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society*, Vols. lxiii.—lxviii. (presented by F. A. Slacke, Esq., Yockleton Hall, Shrewsbury). *Memoir of Lieutenant T. E. G. Norton*, 1916 (presented by Mrs. Norton). *Index Volume Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, Vols. N.S., i.—xii. (purchased). *Annals of St. Paul's*, by Archdeacon Sinclair, 1909 (purchased). *Biographical Supplement to the Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*, by F. A. Hyett and Roland Austin, 1915–16, 2 Vols. (purchased).

The Headquarters Library now contains 3,058 volumes, as well as many pamphlets. Members are reminded that they enjoy the privilege of using the Library of the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club, also housed at the Public Library, Gloucester.

Owing to the desirability of keeping down the expenditure, the Committee have not expended the whole of the sum (£20) set aside by the Council for the purchase of books.

12. Owing to various reasons, it was found impossible to arrange for any winter evening meetings in Bristol.

Evening Meetings in Gloucester.—The encouraging result of the evening meetings in the winter of 1914–15 induced the Local Committee to arrange a programme for 1915–16, and it is gratifying to report that the support given was greater than in the previous session. The serial tickets subscribed for numbered 91 as against 77, and the single tickets issued were 150 as compared with 134. This seems sufficient proof that the Committee's efforts were appreciated, and had it not been for the restricted lighting necessitated by the war, the attendance would have been still greater.

The following papers were read :—

November 10th, 1915, "Old Glass, Church Glass, and Vitraux de Rheims," illustrated by slides, by Mr. A. J. de Havilland Bushnell.

December 15th, 1915, "The Embankments, Fisheries, and Shipping of the Severn," by Mr. Sanford D. Cole.

January 12th, 1916, "Rome," illustrated by slides, by Mr. St. Clair Baddeley.

February 23rd, 1916, continuation of the last lecture.

March 8th, 1916, "Some Gloucestershire Worthies," by Mr. F. A. Hyett.

March 29th, 1916, "Churches of Barnsley, Bibury and Winson, Gloucestershire," illustrated by slides, by the President, Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A.

The charge for admission to these lectures is intended merely to cover working expenses. It is obvious that but for the support given by members of the Society and others, it would be impossible to carry out such a substantial programme at so small a cost.

The Committee take this opportunity of expressing their cordial thanks to the contributors of these interesting papers.

13. The Council have met five times during the year. They again wish to thank the Lord Mayor of Bristol and the Mayor of Gloucester for kindly permitting the use of a room in the Council Chamber at Bristol and the Guildhall at Gloucester for the purpose of their meetings.

14. Two out of the four Trustees (in whose names the invested funds of the Society are registered) having died, the Council recommend that the following gentleman be appointed to fill one of the vacancies: Mr. Claude Basil Fry, Stoke Lodge, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.

15. The Council desire to nominate for election or re-election: President, Mr. E. Sidney Hartland, F.S.A.; President of Council, Rev. Canon Bazeley, M.A.; Vice-Presidents, The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of Bristol, The Mayor of Gloucester (when members of the Society), J. E. Pritchard, F.S.A., A. E. Hudd, F.S.A., Rev. C. S. Taylor, M.A., F.S.A., H. W. Bruton, Rev. Canon Bartleet, F.S.A., G. M. Currie, Ven. Archdeacon Sinclair, M.A., Christopher Bowly, F. A. Hyett, Professor C. W. C. Oman, M.B.A., F.S.A.; Honorary Editor, E. Sidney Hartland, F.S.A.; also the Honorary Treasurer, the Honorary Secretary for Bristol, the Local Secretaries, and the Honorary General Secretary.

16. The following members of Council retire and are eligible for re-election: Mr. C. E. Boucher, Rev. D. G. Lysons, M.A., Mr. G. S. Blakeway, Mr. H. Medland.

THE BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Balance Sheet, 31st December, 1915.

LIABILITIES.

	£	s.	d.
MEMBERS' SUBSCRIPTIONS IN ADVANCE— For 1916	7	7	0
LIABILITY IN RESPECT OF LIFE MEMBERS	Not estimated.		
LIABILITY IN RESPECT OF *Transactions* FOR 1915 (Vol. xxxviii.) NOT ISSUED (including delivery to Members)	150	0	0
HARLEIAN SOCIETY SUBSCRIPTION FOR 1915 not paid	1	1	0
SURPLUS	543	3	8
	£701	11	8

ASSETS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
INVESTMENTS— £554 15s. 9d. 4½ per cent. War Loan at 97¼ per cent. ..				539	10	0
PROPERTY— Libraries and Equipment .. Publications, copies unsold ..	Not estimated.					
SUBSCRIPTIONS UNPAID—						
1914	7	7	0			
1915	29	18	6			
				37	5	6
COTTESWOLD CLUB RENT, 1915 ..				4	0	0
CASH AT BANKERS				120	16	2
				£701	11	8

THE BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Statement of Receipts and Payments for Twelve months ended 31st December, 1915.

1915.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1st.							
	BALANCE AT BANK				99	1	8
Dec. 31st.							
	TO ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
	1908	0	10	6			
	1909	0	10	6			
	1910	0	10	6			
	1911	0	10	6			
	1912	0	10	6			
	1913	0	10	6			
	1914	9	19	6			
	1915	198	8	6			
					211	11	0
	,, ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS IN ADVANCE, 1916				7	7	0
	,, ENTRANCE FEES				3	13	6
	,, DONATIONS—						
	Merchant Venturers' Society	2	2	0			
	F. Were, to Library	0	10	6			
					2	12	6

1915.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.							
	BY COST OF *Transactions*—						
	Vol. xxxvii., 1914, Arrowsmith	128	1	2			
	Postage to Members and Carriage	11	10	11			
	British Record Society ..	10	10	0			
					150	2	1
	,, EXPENSES OF LIBRARIES—						
	Gloucester—						
	Books	10	17	9			
	Pipe Roll Society	1	1	0			
	British Record Society ..	1	1	0			
	Fire Insurance	2	9	3			
	Binding (Bolt)	2	11	1			
	Sundries	0	8	8			
	Public Library Committee for Housing	6	6	0			
	Bristol—						
	Rent	4	0	0			
	Fire Insurance	0	5	0			
					28	19	9

Statement of Receipts and Payments (continued).

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS—						
2½ per cent. Consols, one year to Oct. 5th	18	8	4			
4½ per cent. War Loan, half-year to Dec. 1st	10	12	2			
				29	0	6
,, SALE OF *Publications*				5	0	6
,, SUNDRIES—						
W. Leighton, for proof corrections	0	5	0			
Dr. Fryer's contribution to expenses of his Paper ..	6	1	6			
				6	6	6

EXPENDITURE.

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By EASTGATE ROOM—							
Rent		12	0	0			
Cleaning and Firing	£1 19 11						
Less allowance	0 5 0						
		1	14	11			
					13	14	11
,, MISCELLANEOUS PAYMENTS—							
R. Austin, General Index, First Instalment		7	0	0			
Dr. West, Editor's Expenses		3	13	10			
Assistant Treasurer		10	0	0			
Assistant Secretary		5	0	0			
Hannam Clark, *re* Deerhurst		0	17	6			
Congress of Archæological Societies		1	0	0			
Bristol Taxi Co., Gloucester—Deerhurst		1	13	0			
Cheque Book		0	5	0			
Certificates of Death (Trustees)		0	7	1			
War Loan Conversion Rights		4	10	0			

Statement of Receipts and Payments (continued).

	£ s. d.
	£364 13 2

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Postages—		
General Secretary	1 10 0	
Treasurer	1 0 0	
Local Secretary, Gloucester	1 0 3	
Transactions purchased ..	0 4 1	
Printing—		
Osborne	11 16 6	
Bellows	1 3 0	
		51 0 3
,, BALANCE		120 16 2
		£364 13 2

I have examined this Statement of Receipts and Payments and the Balance Sheet (to 31st December, 1915), and find the same correct.

(Signed) J J. SIMPSON.

12th June, 1916.

Mr. L. GOODENOUGH TAYLOR moved the adoption of the report, and said it was a matter for gratification that the financial aspect was eminently satisfactory. In a time when kindred societies were suffering loss of members and shrinking of funds it reflected great credit on the supervision the Finance Committee of the Council had exercised in the administration of the funds. He regretted that the winter meetings had to lapse in Bristol, but it was fortunate for the *Transactions* that Gloucester had decided to maintain theirs, and he thought that with a little pressure Bristol might emulate that example.

Mr. HENLEY EVANS seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Mr. J. GARDINER moved, and the Rev. W. E. BLATHWAYT seconded, the election or re-election of the following members of Council: Mr. C. E. Boucher, Rev. D. G. Lysons, M.A., Mr. G. S. Blakeway, Mr. H. Medland, Mr. Wilfrid Leighton, and Rev. C. Swynnerton, F.S.A.

The resolution was carried.

The Rev. C. S. TAYLOR proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the retiring President, Mr. Keyser, for presiding during the last two years, remarking that he had filled the office with dignity and efficiency.

Mr. E. S. HARTLAND seconded the resolution and put it to the meeting, and it was carried with enthusiasm.

The PRESIDENT, in reply, said his term of office had been uneventful. The two quiet years had been a little disappointment, because he always enjoyed the outings of the Society. He hoped in future they would be able to renew their excursions, as there was so much to see in the county. He was not a Gloucestershire man, but he knew something of the beautiful county, and felt it an honour to be President of the Society. He would do all he could to help the new President and back him up in every way he could. He then introduced Mr. Hartland, the new President, as a Gloucestershire man and a distinguished antiquary. He

hoped that under his Presidency the Society would have a very prosperous term. They could not hope to do much this year, but by that time next year he hoped things would resume their normal shape, and they would be able to attend to something more pleasant to contemplate than those subjects which were occupying so much of their attention now.

Mr. E. SIDNEY HARTLAND took the chair amid applause, and then delivered an address on "St. Kenelm, the Gloucestershire boy-saint."

The Rev. Canon BAZELEY proposed a vote of thanks to the President for his address, and alluded to the little chapel at Winchcombe, which was over the sacred stream.

Mr. KEYSER seconded, and said they were very much indebted to the President for his interesting address.

Mr. J. E. PRITCHARD, on behalf of the the Bristol members, supported the motion, and asked that they might be allowed to have the address printed in the *Transactions*. He added that it was a generous act of Mr. Hartland to have undertaken the Editorship of the *Transactions*.

The vote was heartily accorded.

The proceedings then terminated.

THE LEGEND OF ST. KENELM.

By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, F.S.A., *President.*[1]

The ancient abbey of Winchcombe, in a beautiful little dale at the base of the Cotswold Hills, was famous until the Reformation as the shrine of the boy-saint Kenelm. The abbey was founded about the end of the first decade of the ninth century by Kenwulf, king of the Mercians, and father of the subsequently honoured saint. His foundation-charter, dated the 9th November, 811, is beyond reasonable doubt (in its present form, at least) a forgery. At his request Pope Leo III. is said to have granted in the same year to the monastery where he should be buried, and the vills and lands belonging to it, freedom from all secular service, in order that the servants of God (namely, the monks) might constantly devote themselves to prayers for his soul. Whatever may be thought of this document, the confirmatory privilege which purports to have been granted by Pope Paschal I. is no more worthy of our credence than the charter.[2] It is probable that Kenwulf designed to be buried in the church of the monastery, and that he was actually buried there. The generally-accepted date of his death is 821. What then happened is not quite clear. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle he died in 819, and was immediately succeeded by his brother Ceolwulf. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, however, was a West-Saxon compilation, frequently edited and re-edited; and it was primarily interested in events beyond the

[1] A portion of this paper was delivered as the Presidential Address at the Annual Meeting of the Society on the 3rd July, 1916.

[2] These documents are printed by Royce, *Landboc de Winchelcumba*, i. 18 *sqq*. *Cf*. Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* (Oxford, 1871), iii. 572.

border only as they affected the kingdom of Wessex. To place the date of Kenwulf's death in 819 was an error, inasmuch as we have charters by him, admitted to be genuine, as late as the year 821. If mistaken in the date, the compiler may also have been mistaken or imperfectly informed concerning the events that followed it. Florence of Worcester, writing at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, and William of Malmesbury a few years later, have a different tale to tell. According to them Kenwulf left a son, Kenelm, a boy of seven years, who was treacherously murdered by one Askebert, at the instigation of his elder sister Cwenthryth, or Quendryth; and it was only after his death that Ceolwulf succeeded to the throne.

Let us begin by taking note of the fact that this tale is first recorded in extant writing three hundred years after the alleged events, and that in the meantime England had passed through two centuries of turmoil and catastrophe involved in the wars with the Northmen, followed by the cataclysm of the Norman Conquest. These changes would not have been favourable to the preservation of the true details of earlier history. Learning of all kinds stagnated, if it did not retrogress, during those disastrous centuries. And though the monasteries may have been at times comparatively safe shelters from the storm, that very fact, by gathering beneath their roofs all sorts of men, would have tended rather to confuse than to clear the memory of the past.

This tale, moreover, assumes that Kenelm, as the son of Kenwulf, had an hereditary and indefeasible right to the kingdom, and in consequence actually succeeded. Florence expressly calls him *heir to the kingdom*. But this is founded on a misconception of Anglo-Saxon constitutional practice, from which no such right can be inferred. To secure the succession to the king's son, he was sometimes crowned or "hallowed to king," like Ecgfrid, the son of Offa, in his father's lifetime. When the king's brother was of age he frequently succeeded, to the exclusion of a son. The true rule of

succession has been formulated as "hereditary in the family but elective in the person." Even this is to put too definitely a rule which in those archaic times probably never received a formal shape. Something in the nature of a rough election by the earls and bishops and other magnates of the kingdom doubtless took place; and a preference was given to members —though often distant members—of the royal family. But the deciding factor, we gather, was very generally the right of the strongest.

Further, it is clear that, failing a son, these post-Conquest writers held that a daughter had at least some claim to the throne. Florence definitely inputes to Quendryth that "dira cupido regnandi" animated her; and William of Malmesbury speaks of her as "falso sibi regnum præsagiens." We look in vain, however, through the lists of the monarchs of the petty kingdoms into which England was divided during the first few centuries of its history for the name of a queen regnant. The only one we find is that of Seaxburh, the widow of Coenwealh, king of Wessex, who seems to have ruled for a year, or possibly longer (672–674), after her husband's death, not by hereditary right, but probably because in a time of intestinal divisions she was an energetic and determined woman, who happened to hold the strings of government in her hands. There were indeed plenty of capable women in high places during the period we call the Heptarchy. If they sat upon the throne, it was as queen consort only; for so long as one of the chief duties of the sovereign was to lead the host to battle, their sphere was held to be rather the cloister than the realm.

The probabilities, then, are all against the story transmitted to us by Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury. Let us turn back to the facts we know. King Kenwulf was married to a lady named Ælfthryth. Who she was is not known. Her name is the same as that of one of Offa's daughters, who according to legend was used to entrap Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, to his death; and she may

have been the same person. Of her presumably, whoever she may have been, two children at least were born, namely, Kenelm and his sister Quendryth. Florence adds a second daughter, Burghild or Burgenhild. The first question to be determined is Kenelm's age at his father's death. There is a remarkable document alleged to be a letter from Pope Leo III. to "King Kenelm," and dated in 798.[1] To accept this would compel us to believe that Kenelm had been "hallowed to king" during his father's life, and reigned with him for more than three-and-twenty years. It is, however, spurious, and a fine example of the recklessness of the monastic forger. Still, a number of charters apparently genuine do exist, to which the name of "Cynehelm princeps" or "Cynehelm dux" is among those of the witnesses and consenting magnates. They begin with the year 803 and continue to the year 811. During those nine years Kenelm, as the king's son, must have been a prominent personage at the Mercian Court. We may suppose him to have been not adult, but adolescent—say, sixteen years of age—in the former year. In that case, in 811, the last year in which his name appears, so far from being a boy of seven years of age subject to a *nutritor* (a tutor, or perhaps foster-father), he must have been a man of five-and-twenty. But if his mother were Ælfthryth, King Offa's daughter, and if the legend that connected her with Ethelbert be true, she could not have been married before 793, the accepted date of Ethelbert's murder, and perhaps not until a year or two later. Then, assuming that Quendryth was (as the legend requires) the first child of the marriage, Kenelm might not have been more than five or six years old in 803. This we should think rather youthful to be joining in what was no doubt a solemn act of state. In those days they may have thought differently. At all events, in 811 he could hardly have been less than fourteen, and at his father's death, if he survived him, twenty-four years old. What became of him after 811 is unknown; probably he died.

[1] Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, No. 284 (*cf.* 285).

The facts of Kenelm's life, then, so far as they are known, are quite inconsistent with the legend. Nor can it be said that the facts known about Quendryth are less so. Her earliest appearance is as one of the signatories to a charter of gift in 811 by Kenwulf, her father, to Beornmod, bishop of Rochester, of land at that city. She is there described as *filia regis*. So far as I am aware, she signs none of her father's subsequent charters. In the year 824, three years after Kenwulf's death, she is found as abbess of Southminster, a position incompatible with that of one who was known to have been guilty of the detestable crime of murdering her own brother, and moreover, as we shall learn hereafter, to have been blinded by an offended heaven for heartless mockery of the holy martyr and blasphemous misuse of one of the psalms which formed part of the services of the Church. At this date (824) she is involved in litigation with Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, who bore no goodwill to the house of Kenwulf, and would not have failed to cast the crime in her teeth, as the quarrel grew bitter, if there had been any truth in the charge. The merits of the quarrel are interesting chiefly to us now as they throw light on the character and life of Quendryth. We have only the archbishop's side of the story, which is embodied in acts of the Council of Clovesho. It seems that a certain Earl Albert and his sister Selethryth had given by deed to Wulfred, after their deaths, as an inheritance for ever, four *aratra* (the Kentish equivalent of hides ?) at a place called Oesewalum. Selethryth predeceased her brother. Albert had meanwhile retired to a monastery; and there he subsequently confirmed the gift. When he died, however, Earl Oswulf, a kinsman of his, got hold of the deeds by fraud, and deposited them upon the altar at Southminster,[1] in the presence of the abbess Quendryth and the whole convent. This seems to have been

[1] Southminster has been identified with Minster in the Isle of Thanet, which the mention of Reculver (see p. 20) in connection with it seems to favour. It may, however, have been Southminster in Essex.

tantamount to a gift of them and the land to the convent. The archbishop was not the man to sit down under such an injustice. He sent repeated demands to Quendryth and the convent to give up the land; but during four years they refused to do so. The archbishop's first demand, therefore, dates back to 820, and shows that Quendryth was at that time abbess, before her father's death. However easily a royal lady could in those days have obtained the position of abbess, and however lax the ideas of the time were in regard to the position, she must have become professed in religion, and that possibly some years before the date of the transaction in question. Indeed, we may surmise that the reason she does not appear as a signatory to charters after 811 is that she was no longer at her father's court, but in the convent. If so, she could not have enacted the part ascribed to her in the legend.

Impatient of their continued refusal, Wulfred summoned the abbess and convent before the synod or Council of Clovesho, to produce the deeds of the property.

In those inchoate times the council or general assembly of the magnates of a kingdom dealt with civil, military and ecclesiastical affairs alike. For this reason in the Council of Clovesho the king and the archbishop of Canterbury sat side by side as joint presidents. Nor were the legislative and judicial functions as yet separated. The same body exercised both; and what to our ideas is worse than all, a member of the body might be judge in his own cause, uniting in his own person what we should think the inconsistent rôles of litigant and judge. Parliament and synod as separate institutions, the distinct functions of judge, advocate, and litigant, had not then been evolved. These clear-cut conceptions, so elementary to us, are much more modern. In the Council of Clovesho the archbishop of Canterbury, sitting thus as joint president with Beornwulf the king, was plaintiff also. In the presence of Quendryth, the representatives of the convent of Southminster and the whole witan, he stated his

claim and offered the documents to be read. He had taken the precaution to bring his witnesses, the Abbots Wernoth and Feologeld, and the propositus Æthelhun, who testified *viva voce* before the Council to the same effect as the deeds. After hearing the cause, the Council unanimously adjudged the property and deeds to be given up to the archbishop. The king appears to have concurred in the decision ; for his name and cross, together with those of the archbishop and a number of bishops, presbyters, abbots and *duces*, are affixed to the record as consenting. But those of Quendryth and the other representatives of the convent of Southminster, the defeated litigants, are not added.[1]

Evidently Quendryth was a determined lady, as tenacious of what she deemed her rights as the archbishop. But this was only part of his quarrel with her. Having succeeded so far, we find him the following year again in litigation with her, this time in her capacity as heiress of King Kenwulf. She had, in fact, inherited an old-standing quarrel, which had become so inflamed during Kenwulf's lifetime, that the king had appealed to the pope, and at a witanagemot held at London had banished the archbishop from the kingdom, and forbidden his return, in spite of anything that pope or emperor or anyone else might say, until he should consent to give up certain land and pay a hundred and twenty pounds in money, an enormous sum in those days. The archbishop long refused to agree to the terms, and became an exile. He does not seem, however, to have found much sympathy at the court of Rome, where the king's representatives prevailed. His friends at last advised him to submit. Reluctantly he did so, on condition that the power and dignity enjoyed by his predecessors should be restored to him, and his peace made also with the pope. Failing these, he stipulated that the money which he paid to the king should be returned to him. After Kenwulf's death the archbishop summoned Quendryth as his heiress before the Council at Clovesho, and

[1] Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, i., No. 378.

complained that the conditions had not been fulfilled by the king. One of his charges against Kenwulf had been that the king's violence and rapacity had despoiled him of his rights over the convents of Southminster (where Quendryth was abbess) and Reculver, and their property and possessions. His grievance now was, that in spite of the reconciliation, he had been for three whole years defrauded of the rights enjoyed by his predecessors and himself over the cloister of Southminster, alike in the material tribute of food, money, and clothing, and in canonical obedience ; and, moreover, in many places of his diocese he was consequently deprived of his due honours. The claims over Southminster touched the abbess nearly. Though she may have been willing as abbess to render canonical obedience to the archbishop, the lordship with its temporalities had descended to her as her father's heiress. Everything else in dispute appears to have been given up by the king on his reconciliation with Wulfred, in return for the archbishop's cession of certain land called " Leogeneshamme " or " Iogneshomme," and the money payment. We do not know her case. The record of the synod naturally has an ecclesiastical tinge ; it altogether omits her answer to the complaint. All we are told is that the Council was unanimously in favour of the archbishop, decreeing complete restitution and damages.

Quendryth, however, did not so easily yield. Consequently King Beornwulf, out of friendship for the deceased king and his heiress, undertook to mediate. With his witan (*cum suis sapientibus*) he humbly prayed the archbishop to compromise his claim, offering him, at the request and on behalf of the heiress and the inheritance, a hundred hides of land in four places, namely at Harrow, " Herefrethinglond," and Wembley, and at " Geddincggum " (possibly Yeading in Middlesex), in full of his demand. At length, not very willingly, but for the love of God and out of friendship for her king, as he declared, he gave way ; the offer was accepted, and the reconciliation on these terms was announced to the synod.

Yet the quarrel was not ended. Twelve months passed, and the agreement had not been fully performed. Three hides at Harrow, and the documents relating to "Boclonde" (perhaps "Geddinge"), Wembley and "Herefrethinglande" — together forty-seven hides—were withheld. But the next year Quendryth recognised the hopelessness of the contest. The archbishop was then at "Oslafeshlau," in the province of the Hwiccas. She sought him out and begged for an interview. There, we are told, she confessed the folly of her conduct. The archbishop, by way of making himself pleasant (*cum magna dulcedine* is the actual phrase in the record), declared at once to her that he was no longer bound by the compromise, since her solemn undertaking was unfulfilled. The abbess humbled herself before him. She promised to give up everything she had kept back; she would make ample amends; she would hand over the missing deeds; for the sake of his friendship, and by way of damages (*ad emendationem*), she would add (from her own property) four hides at Harrow and thirty hides at a place called "Cumbe," in Kent, with their deeds, to him and his heirs for ever, so that their reconciliation might be permanent, and her father's inheritance and his heirs liberated from further claims. Brought again before the council, she subsequently promised all this, we are informed, with shame and humiliation. The archbishop would spare her nothing. Before he agreed he exacted the abolition of certain ancient privileges (we are not told what they were) annexed to lands at "Wincelcumbe," a place identified by Mr. Birch with probability not as Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, but Great and Little Winchcombe, about a mile and a half south-west of Godmersham in Kent, and perhaps the same as "Cumbe" before mentioned. And he made it a condition that if subsequent dispute were raised by any of Kenwulf's heirs the archbishop and his heirs and Christ Church [Canterbury] should be free to require indemnity from Quendryth, and to reopen the controversy now closed.

The record was signed by mark of the cross by Quendryth, it is specially noted, "with her own hands." It was also signed in the same way by the king, the archbishop, and a long array of bishops, abbots, *duces*, and other dignitaries—probably, in fact, by the entire synod or council.[1]

So the archbishop triumphed. The antagonists were not in themselves unequally matched. Both were strong-willed and resolute to obstinacy. Had Quendryth been possessed of the spiritual and secular resources of her opponent, the issue might have been different. It is to be regretted that the record is so biassed, otherwise we might have known something of the motives that actuated her and the skill with which she conducted her case. She probably held herself to be contending not merely for her own hand, but for her father's remoter heirs, perhaps even on behalf of her convent. More than that, she no doubt regarded herself as the champion of her father's memory, which Wulfred's invective had blackened with charges of enmity, violence, avarice and unjust oppression: charges perpetuated in the acts of the council he compelled her to sign.[2] He made use of this unmeasured language as plaintiff, but at the same time as joint president with King Beornwulf. It looks as if, whatever were the merits of the quarrel, his successes were partly gained by overawing the council as president, and by virtue of his sacred character as archbishop. Bitter as the contention was, however, and violent as was his language, he utters no syllable that hints at any complicity by the abbess in a brother's murder.

It is interesting, though somewhat beside the subject, to

[1] There are two records varying slightly in detail, the one supplementing the other: Birch, Nos. 384, 385; Haddan and Stubbs, iii., 596, 601. The latter think Wincelcumbe is Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, and apparently distinguish it from Cumbe (see their observations, *ibid.*, 575).

[2] And yet Kenwulf had been a generous giver to the archbishop. A number of charters are recorded containing grants of domains to him, as well as to other ecclesiastics.

inquire what the archbishop did with the lands he had wrung from Quendryth. The character in which he obtained them is not, on the face of the documents, perfectly free from ambiguity. There are many ambiguities in these old records. Writing was still a laborious art, and was economised accordingly. Legal ideas were somewhat nebulous ; at any rate, the precision of legal expression as yet left much to be desired. Even the laws put from time to time into writing are framed in such concise and general terms, that to us their meaning is often anything but clear. On the whole, however, it seems certain that the lands acquired for himself and his heirs were intended to be for him in his capacity as archbishop, and for the benefit of the Church, as represented by the monks of Canterbury. He recognised this ; but he had worldly ties. There was at least one kinsman whom he desired to benefit, if possible, out of the property of the Church. So he prevailed upon "the family of Christ," namely the monks of Christ Church, to consent to a gift to this relative of the land at Harrow, together with land at Oeswalum and other property, which it does not appear had ever belonged to Quendryth. The deed conveying all these is lost, so that we do not precisely know its terms. We gather, however, that it was an absolute conveyance, not limited to the donee's life, as such gifts sometimes are ; for Werhard, the donee, in the year 845, exchanged one hide of what possibly was a part of the land at Harrow against a similar quantity of neighbouring land, the property of a thegn named Werenberht, at Hroces-seathum (Roxeth).[1] However, the archbishop at the time of the gift, or subsequently, laid it upon him to restore at his death the property to Christ Church and the monks his brethren, and before he died caused the injunction to be put into writing in the testamentary disposition of his property ; charging, moreover, the lands, for the good of his soul and the souls of all who had given assistance to Christ Church, with the maintenance of twenty-one poor men, of

[1] Birch, *op. cit.*, ii., No. 448.

whom five were to be maintained at Harrow, two at Clive, two at Gravenea, seven at Oeswalum, and six at Canterbury, and also with other "charities." Shortly after the archbishop's death Werhard accordingly by his will or testamentary disposition, still extant, reciting the transaction, carried out his wishes,[1] though he seems to have survived his relative for many years. The gift to him was not to be despised. It amounted to the lordship of at least 326 hides, or nearly forty thousand acres. Whether Wulfred secured any pickings out of the estates of the Church at Canterbury for other relatives I cannot say. But it is manifest that to afford one such magnificent family endowment the archbishops and the brethren of Christ Church must have lost very few opportunities. Their talent was not laid up in a napkin.

With the settlement of the quarrel the veil drops, and we lose sight of the lady abbess. For the rest of her life she probably ruled her convent as such a woman was likely to rule it, firmly no doubt—probably wisely—and with due regard for the interests and order of the community. Whether she saw and suffered the stress of the Danish invasion we do not know; silence covers the rest of her career.

Subsequent charters and records make only one mention of her; and that apparently relates to her earlier life. A document dated in the year 897 states that Dux Æthelwulf had investigated the deeds relating to the property of King Kenwulf, and found that he had ordained that none of his heirs should have license to grant away his (Kenwulf's) inheritance which belonged to Winchcombe for longer than one life; and that if anyone would not observe this limitation, or should attempt to transgress it by giving a longer period, he should be subject to anathema, unless he made proper amends. Now there were five hides of land "in Uptune" (perhaps Upton-on-Severn) in the possession of one Wullaf,

[1] *Ibid.*, i., No. 402.

who was of the heirship of Kenwulf. Among other things Æthelwulf spoke to him about this property. Wullaf replied that Quendryth had given it to her father for three lives, and that subsequently Ælflæd had granted it to himself for three more lives. Æthelred, dux of the Mercians, and his council, however, decided that the gift could not stand, save as was determined in the days of Kenwulf. The upshot was that Wullaf delivered up to Æthelwulf the original deeds executed by Quendryth and Ælflæd ; and Æthelwulf commanded him afterwards to put the surrender into writing, at the same time directing that he should have and enjoy the property during his life, and it should then be returned without contention to the see of Worcester, whoever might be bishop, as well for the redemption of the soul of King Kenwulf and of all his heirs, as also for the renewal of peace and for reconciliation between "the family which was in the city of Worcester and that which was at Winchcombe," and to calm the discord and reproaches which had arisen between the two convents. This was agreed to by the bishop and both "families." [1]

If we may assume this document to be genuine (never an unnecessary caution in dealing with monastic deeds and charters), interesting and difficult questions arise upon it. Haddan and Stubbs suppose that the real charter by Kenwulf at the foundation of Winchcombe Abbey, on which the forgery that has reached us is based, contained the clause forbidding the alienation of the endowment which is here referred to, though in fact the clause in the extant charter, if roughly equivalent to that cited in Æthelwulf's report, is by no means textually identical. [2] They suppose, moreover,

[1] Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, ii., No. 575 ; Kemble, No. 323.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 575. The clause as cited in the document of 897 runs : "Quod nullus heres post eum [Kenwulf] licentiam haberet hereditatem Cenuulfi quæ pertinet ad Wincelcumbe alicui hominum longius donandam vel conscribendam quam dies unius hominis ; sed si quis hoc observare noluisset vel contraire longius spatium addendo conatus fuisset sciret se anathematizandum esse nisi digna satisfactione

that Quendryth was abbess of Winchcombe. This would perhaps not be impossible, having regard to the usages of those days, but so far as I am aware we have no direct evidence of it. If she were abbess, it must have been immediately after the foundation of the abbey, or at all events prior to the year 820, when, as we have seen, she was already abbess of Southminster. It would follow that in the capacity of abbess she had alienated the property to her father himself, in defiance of his own prohibition and the peril of anathema, and with the prohibition and the threat still ringing in her ears. But what claim had the bishop of Worcester, or "the family which was in that city," to the property of the Abbey of Winchcombe? And what moved Dux Æthelwulf to look into the title-deeds of Kenwulf's patrimony? The transaction remains obscure. Perhaps if we had Kenwulf's genuine charter it might become clear. Meanwhile we can only note that, despite the anathema, the soul neither of Kenwulf nor of Quendryth was excepted from the benefits which were to be obtained by King Kenwulf and all his heirs, consequent upon the return of the property to the see of Worcester.

Our survey of the facts has, therefore, shown that the story of Quendryth instigating the murder of her brother, in order that she might succeed to his crown, is not merely improbable, but impossible. We may discount the miraculous incidents of the legend, to be more fully related hereafter, as mere embroidery, though in fact some of them are of its very essence. The story remains equally incredible without them, and that for three reasons:—

1. It assumes direct hereditary descent of the crown unknown to the English of the Heptarchy.

emendaret." In the extant charter it runs: "Nullus fuisset homo aliqua audacitate fretus, quoquo modo torvave cogitatione, aliquid per vim exinde rapere, nec diminuere, neque agros meae hereditatis foras transdonare, vel accommodare, nisi ad tempus et ad conditionis statutum unius hominis; sed immobiliter permansissent quasi in nostris tribus synodis firmiter decrevimus aeternaliter perdurare."

2. Quendryth at the time of her father's death, so far from being in a position to plot for the throne, had entered the cloister, and was the abbess of a distant convent (in Kent or Essex), a position she had held for some time previously, and continued to hold for three years at least, and probably for the rest of her life.

3. Kenelm, if living when his father died, was not a boy of seven years of age, but a full-grown man. There can be little doubt, however, that he had been dead for ten years, since he disappears from all records after the year 811. Even in that year he was much more than seven years of age.

There is therefore no reason to doubt the statement in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that King Kenwulf was immediately succeeded by his brother Ceolwulf, though the event is antedated by two years.

We turn to the legends. In these Kenelm is not merely regarded as foully murdered, but is exalted into a martyr and a saint. As already stated, the earliest authority for them is Florence of Worcester, writing after the Norman Conquest towards the end of the eleventh century. Florence was a monk of Worcester, who seems to have used as the basis of his *Chronicon* a Worcester version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, not now extant. It was, however, supplemented from other sources, local tradition being probably among them. So far is he from sharing Archbishop Wulfred's estimate of Kenwulf, that he accounts him a saint. Under the year 819 he relates that Saint Kenulphus, king of the Mercians, after performing many good works in his lifetime, passed to everlasting bliss in heaven, leaving his son Kenelm, a boy of seven years, heir to the kingdom. In a few months, however, his sister Quendryth, aiming at the kingdom, plotted his murder with Asceberht, his cruel foster-father (*nutritor*). He was secretly betrayed to death in a vast and gloomy wood under a thorn-tree. But he who was slain, heaven only being witness, was afterwards revealed, heaven being witness by means of a column of light. From his severed head, milk-

white in the radiance of innocence, a milk-white dove with golden wings soared up to heaven. After his happy martyrdom Ceolwulf received the kingdom of the Mercians.

A monkish chronicler, though his style in general be dry as sawdust, will always swell and glow with official rhetoric at the mention of a "martyrdom." Florence here does more: he drops into rhyme. In this connection it is perhaps not unimportant that he does not indicate the site of the "martyrdom," a pass in the Clent Hills not much more than sixteen miles as the crow flies from the monastery where he was writing. It is tempting to suggest that he was translating a current ballad. But Florence is apt to grow dithyrambic over such events, and to indulge in rhymed prose.

William of Malmesbury wrote at Malmesbury early in the twelfth century. Recording the dedication of Winchcombe Abbey and Kenwulf's burial there, he adds that the youthful Kenelm was put to death in his innocence by his sister, and having obtained the name and honours of a martyr, also rests there. What shall the pen contrive, he bursts forth, worthy of Saint Kenelm, a boy of tender years? His father, Kenulf, king of the Mercians, left him to be educated at the age of seven years in the care of his sister Quendryth; but she entrusted her brother to an accomplice who had brought him up, to be made away with. He, taking the innocent child, under pretext of recreation by hunting, killed him and hid the body in a copse (*inter frutecta*). But, wonderful to relate, the crime thus secretly committed in England became known by divine providence at Rome; for a parchment dropped by a dove on the altar of Saint Peter's revealed the place of his murder and burial. But because it was written in English it was in vain attempted to be read by Romans and men of other nationalities who were present. Happily an Englishman who chanced to be there at the very moment explained it in the Latin tongue, and brought it to pass that by a letter of the Holy See to the English kings their fellow-countryman

was disclosed as a martyr. Wherefore the poor boy's body was exhumed and carried to Winchcombe, accompanied by a great crowd. Aroused by the chanting of the clergy and the plaudits of the laity, the wicked (*parricidalis*) woman put her head out of the window of the upper room in which she was standing, and having the psalter in her hands, in which she had been reading and had reached the psalm "Deus laudem meam," she endeavoured to damp the joy of the singers by chanting it backwards, beginning at the end, for an evil charm (*nescio quo præstigio*). But as she proceeded the sorceress's eyes were torn by divine power from their sockets, and polluted with blood the verse "Hoc opus eorum" [now rendered in the English Prayer Book, "Let it thus happen from the Lord unto mine enemies, and to those that speak evil against my soul"]. The chronicler avers that the bloody marks still existed in his day, witnesses to the wretched woman's ferocity and the vengeance of God. The saint's body became an object of veneration. Such was the persuasion of its sanctity and the frequency of its miracles, that at hardly any place in England was there a greater concourse of people on the occasion of the yearly festival.[1]

Here we see already begun the inevitable process of expansion of the tale. Florence's milk-white dove, that soared from the severed head to heaven, here conveys instead the tidings of the murder to Rome, and thus causes the discovery of the body. The punishment of the murderess, rather for the mockery of the rites paid to the "martyr" than for the crime of plotting his death, is a new and picturesque feature. A snowball loses nothing by rolling: so a traditional tale concerning a local or national hero becomes the more detailed and precise the oftener it is told. The story of Saint Kenelm became popular in the midland and southern counties. It was soon included in collections of legends of the saints, and down to the Reformation it grew and prospered. We need not deal with every version:

[1] Wm. Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ii. 211.

suffice it to consider as briefly as possible one or two stages in its growth.

A century later than William of Malmesbury Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Alban's, tells the tale in a work embodying the *Flores Historiarum* of Roger of Wendover, also a monk of St. Alban's, who had written a few years earlier. Roger copies from William of Malmesbury with a few variations of phrase, but adds further particulars. He professes to give the very words of the dove-brought parchment: "In Clenc cubeche Kenelm cunebearn lith under thorne havedes bereafed,"[1] of which he adds a literal translation. Subsequently, winding up his account, he tells us: "Concerning the martyrdom of this saint, somebody says:

> 'In Clenc sub spina jacet in convalli bovina,
> Vertice privatus, Kenelmus rege creatus.'"

The Anglo-Saxon version bears the marks of being a snatch of verse, which is thus put into literary medieval Latin. It has been rendered into English by Milton:

> "Low in a mead of kine under a thorn,
> Of head bereaft, lith poor Kenelm king-born."

Probably it is a fragment of folk-song, perhaps part of a popular ballad on the subject.

In the latter years of the fourteenth century Richard of Cirencester, writing at Westminster, gives the most florid narrative. For him, as for Florence of Worcester, Kenwulf is *rex piissimus* who, departing to the starry realm, left with paternal love his son Kenelm, a boy of seven years, as his heir. Kenelm had two royal sisters, Quendryth (Quendritha), who afterwards shed her brother's blood, and Burgenhild, who

[1] These words are also given by other medieval chroniclers and hagiologists, in every case in a more or less corrupt form. The word *beche* or *bache* is conjectured in the *N. E. D.* to be a dialect-form of an Old English word not actually found, whence is derived the modern *beck*, a rivulet or stream. If so, *cubache*, frequently rendered *cow-pasture*, would be more properly *cow-beck*, *beck* being enlarged in meaning to the gully or ravine in which the stream runs.

loved her brother with sisterly affection. Graces and beauty of body and spirit are attributed to him. Quendryth, on the other hand, is likened to Herodias, to Jezebel, and to Cain. Spurred by cruel malice and the ambition to reign, she first tries in vain to poison Kenelm. Then she plots with his foster-father, Askebert, by the promise of great reward and the hope of being her partner in the kingdom, to put him to death. Meanwhile the victim has a vision from God in his sleep, which on awaking he tells his nurse, Wlwen, a woman of Winchcombe, gifted with understanding and the power of interpreting dreams. It seemed that there stood before his bed a lofty tree rearing its head on high, and that he from the top obtained a wide view. The spreading boughs from top to bottom were covered with all sorts of flowers. It was, moreover, brilliant with innumerable lamps, and on three sides the land bowed down to him in allegiance. But while he was wondering at what he saw, certain of his own people, rushing in below, cut down the tree, and it fell with a great crash. He himself, forthwith changed into a white bird, soared into the sky. Scarce had he finished speaking when his nurse, smiting her breast, broke forth into a cry: "Alas! alas! my dearest child! Alas! my sweet suckling, my babe whom I have nourished! Shall then the plot of thy own kin, the malign plans of thy sister and thy foster-father prevail against thee? Alas! I fear that tree cut down portends thy fate! Three parts of the kingdom obey, but thy sister is against thee! Yet the bird soaring into heaven prefigures the glorious destiny of thy soul." All this rhetorical nonsense is natural to the pious legend-monger, adorning his theme. Kenelm is to be represented as a martyr. Therefore the warning does not terrify him. Following in the footsteps of his Lord, he is led as a lamb to the slaughter. Knowing full well what is before him, he accompanies his bloodthirsty enemy to receive the crown of glory. Askebert takes him to the forest to hunt. As they approached it, the tender boy, oppressed with slumber, slipped off his horse, and lying down

on the spot was soon wrapt in sleep. His foster-father, instead of a bed, prepares a grave for him. But the boy, starting up, anticipates the assassin's design. "In vain hast thou dug me this cavern," he *is reported* to have said [even a medieval monk may have his doubts on some of these edifying details]; "for not here, as thou dost purpose, I shall die, but farther away in a place where God wills. Wherefore I will give thee a sign." Taking a twig in his hand, he planted it in the ground, and said: "Let this twig, thus planted, put forth leaves." Immediately the twig began to bud, and from it a great ash-tree has grown, shown to this day and famous as a memorial of Saint Kenelm. Conscience-smitten, the murderer hurried him onwards. Hidden in the forest in question (which is called Clent) there is a deep hollow between two mountains. At that spot, to the embarrassed foe seeking for a lonely place to execute his fury, the martyr *seemed to utter* with the voice of his Lord: "What thou doest, do quickly." Here, therefore, under a hawthorn he cut off poor little Kenelm's milk-white head, which the boy *is related* to have instantly caught up in his outstretched hands, as if he offered a lily or a rose that he had plucked, to the end that the precious death of His saint might be rendered gracious in the sight of the Lord. A milk-white dove with golden wings is *justly believed* to have mounted the skies, such as he saw himself in his vision. *It is also asserted* that as he was being put to death, he began the "Te Deum," and while uttering the verse: "The noble army of martyrs praise Thee," he fell, his throat severed, to the earth. The impious slayer buried the body where it lay, thinking in vain that the vastness of the desert would hide his crime. But a column of light from the heavenly towers was often beheld over it. A white cow, *as is reported*, belonging to a certain widow, having left the common pasture, hastened down from the mountain-top to the grave and there remained, nor could any force drive it away. It returned to its stall always full, and surpassed all the herd twofold in the abundance of its milk:

so wholesome and pleasant was the herbage about the sacred soil where it fed. And wonderful it was that what it had cropped overnight it found growing again in verdure more abundantly in the morning. Hence the place was usually called Cow Valley.

Quendryth having thus purchased the kingdom by the murder of her brother, and taken possession of it, terrorised everyone with an edict that anybody who sought for Kenelm, or revealed what had become of him, or even uttered his name, should be instantly put to death. But the brilliant light which was smothered in England shone forth the more clearly in Rome, the citadel of the world. Then follows the miracle of the scroll dropped by the dove. Pope Sylvester, we are told, was celebrating Mass before an innumerable concourse of persons of various nations, among them a number of English, some belonging to the English school established at Rome by English kings, some recently arrived. By these the sacred message was interpreted. The pope thereupon sent cardinal-legates with Englishmen on whom he could rely, bearing letters and the apostolic authority to the archbishop of Canterbury and the other English bishops, directing the removal of the martyr's body to the care of the Church and for the veneration of the multitude. It was accordingly exhumed, the whole Mercian people concurring, that it might be transferred to the church at Winchcombe, built and endowed by Kenelm's blessed (*beatum*) father, when he fortified the town and surrounded it with a wall. As soon as the body was taken up a sacred fountain burst forth from the place where it had lain. The stream still flows, and has dispensed healing power on many who have tasted of it. Carried out of the wood, a great throng being drawn together with the holy fathers, the corpse was detained everywhere on its journey, while crowds of blind and deaf and dumb and those suffering from all sorts of diseases, pressing about it, were cured. But as it was borne away by the people of Gloucestershire, those of Worcestershire met them with

weapons and withstood them at the ford of Piriford [Pershore], in order to carry off the precious treasure to Worcester by force, unless it were yielded up to them. Both parties disputed, as once the people of Tours and Poictiers for the body of Saint Martin ; but the quarrel was at length adjusted by agreeing that the party which first awoke the next morning should take the hallowed corpse, as divinely awarded to them. Accordingly, in the morning the Gloucestershire folk, the more vigilant of the two, had got five miles away with the sacred dust before the Worcestershire band could rouse themselves. The latter then, inflamed with anger and shame, pursued with all the speed they could. Whom, when the fugitives beheld afar off, they invoked the intercession of the lord Kenelm, and breathlessly hurried forward by a narrow path under cover of a coppice. At length, in sight of the monastery of Winchcombe, worn out with toil and flight and oppressed with thirst, they sank down with the sacred dust to take breath. Before they ventured forward they prayed the saint for his assistance to restore them. Immediately a spring burst forth beneath a certain stone, which being removed the whole company drank and were refreshed, and went on their way. But the spring flows down into the river to this day. As they approached, Quendryth was standing in the upper story of the western church of Saint Peter, which is separated by the highway from the forecourt of the monastery. Then follows the incident of the loss of her eyes, which need not be repeated, since it contains no material variation from the report of William of Malmesbury. Proof of the miracle, we are told, is afforded by the preservation of the psalter bound with silver and bespattered with blood. To round off the story, it is added that the unhappy woman perished shortly after. She could be buried neither in the church, nor in the forecourt, nor yet in the graveyard ; but a shining babe, appearing to a certain man, commanded that the corpse should be taken to a distance and thrown into a pit (*profundo*). The royal martyr Kenelm, on the other

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hand, was borne to a resting-place in the paternal monastery of Winchcombe with hymns of triumph, and then and thenceforth was recognised by numberless tokens as a holy victim (*hostia sanctitatis*). Of these tokens, authenticated from of old by heaven, the writer proceeds to give fourteen miraculous narratives culled out of many.[1]

Richard of Cirencester's authority was no doubt one of the collections of legends then very popular, though, being a Gloucestershire man, he may also have heard the tale on the spot. The earliest of such collections now extant were made late in the thirteenth century. One of them was produced from the abbey of Gloucester. It was apparently the work of a number of contributors, of whom Robert of Gloucester, the chronicler, seems to have been one. Probably the whole cloister took an interest in the work, and even neighbouring monasteries contributed. Similar collections were made elsewhere. They seem to have been based on older Latin legendaries, amplified with details from tradition, and with legends of other saints of national or local importance. At Gloucester, among such legends, that of Saint Kenelm was naturally included.[2] The object of the collection was not the record of facts: it was edification. It would provide the lectionary for the refectory, and for times and seasons when

> "The reader droned from the pulpit,
> Like the murmur of many bees,
> The legend of good Saint Guthlac
> Or Saint Basil's homilies."

And it would serve as material for sermons to the faithful laity on the various festivals and saints' days.

The earliest known of these legendaries is M.S. Laud 108 in the Bodleian Library. It was edited some thirty years

[1] Ric. Cir., *Speculum Historiale*, l. ii., c. 67.

[2] An analysis of a number of these old English legendaries has been given by Dr. Carl Horstmann in the introduction to his *Altenglische Legenden* (Paderborn, 1875), iii. *sqq.*, and his *Altenglische Legenden*, neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1881), xliv. *sqq.*

ago by Dr. Carl Horstmann for the Early English Text Society. Dr. Horstmann assigns it to the date 1280–90. It is in verse. Though so early, the verse is more modern than that of *Piers the Plowman*, written three-quarters of a century later. It is in rhyme, in a measure based on seven beats in a line, four in the first half and three in the second, thus corresponding to the English ballad metre. The legend of Saint Kenelm (like others) professes to be derived from a literary source; but either the scribe or his authority had local knowledge of Winchcombe. He delineates the situation of the well, mentions the chapel built over it for pilgrims, describes the procession with the body coming down "from Sudeley," and Quendryth sitting, as it approached, in Saint Peter's Church, "beside the Abbeie-gate, in a soler [an upper room] in the est-side."[1] The story has been modernised by Mrs. Dent, from a manuscript of the end of the fourteenth century, known as the Trinity College (Oxford) MS. No. 57, now also in the Bodleian Library.[2] Both these versions substantially agree with the narrative of Richard of Cirencester.

Finally the tale was taken into the English recensions of the *Golden Legend*, a more general collection of Christian mythology originally compiled by Jacopo a Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, about the year 1275. In the edition translated by or under the superintendence of William Caxton and printed by him, as appears from the colophon, in 1483, we find the story in its latest form. The differences from Richard of Cirencester's version are not material. Kenelm's younger sister is called Dornemilde, and his nurse Wolweline; in his vision "Askeberd, his governor," is

[1] *The Early South-English Legendary or Lives of Saints*, i., M.S. Laud 108, in the Bodleian Library, edited by Dr. Carl Horstmann, (London, 1887), x., 345 *sqq*. Originally Dr. Horstmann attributed to it a slightly later date, viz. *c.* 1300 (*Altenglische Legenden*, x.).

[2] *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley* (London, 1877), p. 37. Mrs. Dent is mistaken in calling it a "Saxon MS." It is in English, in rhymed verse of various metres.

specifically named as cutting down the tree; Quendryth's bribe to Askeberd is "a great sum of money and also her body at his will;" after she "took on her to be queen," "she abandoned her body to wretched living of her flesh in lechery, and brought her own men to wretched living;" when the dove appeared to the pope with the scroll, the pope "kept that scroll for a relic, and the Feast of Saint Kenelm was hallowed that day solemnly through all Rome;" the Abbot of Winchcombe led the band sent to fetch the martyr's body; after obtaining possession of it they bare it forth "till they came upon an hill a mile from the abbey. And for heat and labour they were nigh dead for thirst, and anon they prayed to God and to this holy saint to be their comfort. And then the abbot pight his cross into the earth, and forthwith sprang up there a fair well, whereof they drank and refreshed them much;" "the bells rung without man's help," as they brought the body in procession into the abbey; when Quendryth was told, "she said in secret scorn: That is as true, said she, as both my eyes fall upon this book; and anon both her eyes fell out of her head upon the book. And yet it is seen on this day where they fell upon the psalter she read that same time. *Deum laudemus.* And soon after she died wretchedly, and was cast out into a foul mire, and then after was this holy body of Saint Kenelm laid in an honourable shrine, whereas our Lord showeth daily many a miracle." These variations suggest a traditional source. Their general tenour is to glorify the saint and to blacken Quendryth, after the naive fashion of martyrologies.

It remains to inquire what was the origin of a legend so destitute of historical foundation. That is a difficult question; and the results, if any, that we may be able to reach must be more or less conjectural. But the investigation may not be without interest.

Among the earliest monuments of English literature is the famous poem of *Beowulf*, usually attributed in its present form to the eighth century. The action of the poem passes

elsewhere than in England; the hero Beowulf is not an Englishman but a Geat, who goes to the help of Hrothgar, king of a Danish people, against a supernatural foe; and the poem is filled with allusions to continental history and tradition. The traditions it embodies would seem, therefore, to be older than the English settlement in this country, and to have been brought by the invaders from their ancient seats in Sleswick. One of the allusions to personages of the past, whether real or mythical, concerns Thrytho, the wife of Offa, who is conjectured to have been a ruler of Anglen, the oldest England, in the fifth century, and who was at all events a traditional king. The allusion is dragged in for no very obvious reason, unless it be to point an antithesis to Hygd, the gracious queen of Higelac, Beowulf's mother's brother. Thrytho is described as a violent and crafty woman, at whom no man dared to look, lest pretending it was an insult she should compass his death. Her husband, however, checked this, and it is said that her disposition was much softened after her marriage. Her father had sent her, adorned with gold, over the fallow flood to Offa's hall, where she wedded him, and afterwards on the throne enjoyed a happy fate, holding high love with the royal hero, the best of all mankind between the seas.[1]

The name Thrytho seems in its origin to mean, in the old Teutonic mythology (more or less common to the German and Scandinavian branches of the Teutonic people), a supernatural lady, whose exact functions and character are not very clear. Later it sinks on the one hand into a mere synonym for maiden; and as such it forms a component of many female names, such as Ælfthryth (Elfrida), Gertrude, and so forth. On the other hand, it acquires the sinister sense of witch or sorceress. Grimm notes, for instance, that Hans Sachs uses *alte trute* for old witch, and that noisy children are hushed with the threat "the *drut* will come."[2]

[1] *Beowulf*, xxvii., ll. 1931–1962.

[2] Grimm (Stallybrass' translation), *Teut. Myth.* (London, 1880–88), i. 422.

The Thrytho is probably not remotely connected with the *valkyrjur*, or choosers of the slain, sent out by Odin to select those who were to fall in fight. Thruthr is indeed named, in a poem incorporated in the *Grimnis-mal*, among Odin's attendants who serve ale to the Chosen Host, that is to say, the warriors slain and admitted to Valhalla.[1] Thruthr is also the name of Thor's daughter.[2] The *valkyrjur* were clad in armour, as befitted messengers of the war-god, who were, albeit maidens, to mingle in the fray. Such was Sigrdrifa (the original form of Brynhild) in the *Edda*, whom Odin had touched "with his wand of sleep, because she brought low in battle others than those he wished to fall."[3] But once awakened from the slumber, she was capable of human love.

The Russian peasant has a similar tale of a maiden so fierce and warlike that she slays whole armies; yet once wedded she becomes quite a common-place fairy-tale heroine.[4] The same idea forms the foundation of the Greek legend of the Amazons. And it is not unknown elsewhere: several tribes of North-American Indians tell an analogous story.[5]

The name of Offa, in the form of Uffo, appears in the mythical part of Saxo Grammaticus' History as that of a king of Denmark. He is represented as the grandson of Amleth (Hamlet), and son of Wermund in his old age. He surpassed all of his years in stature, but he was dumb and was reputed as an utter fool. His father wedded him to the daughter of Frowin, the governor of the men of Sleswick. About her we are told nothing. But when Wermund had become blind by age, the King of Saxony sent an envoy demanding the surrender of his kingdom, or failing that, challenging him to

[1] Vigfusson-Powell, *Corpus Poet. Boreale* (Oxford, 1883), i. 75.

[2] Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, iii., 1348, 1404.

[3] Vigfusson-Powell, i. 158.

[4] Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales* (London, 1873), 85; Magnus, *Russian Folk-tales* (London, 1915), 192; both translating Afanasief.

[5] Jones, *Fox Texts* (Leyden, 1907), i. 197; Sapir, *Wishram Texts* (Leyden, 1909), 290; *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxviii. 290; *Journ. Amer. Folk-lore Soc.*, xxv. 346.

stake his kingdom on a single combat between their respective sons. The message struck the king and his councillors with consternation. Uffo, who was present, however, broke into speech for the first time in his life. To the astonishment of his father and the other men, he asked for leave to speak. Leave having been given, he offered to fight not only the king of Saxony's son, but also at the same time anyone else of the bravest of his people whom that prince might bring with him. The combat took place. Uffo defeated and slew single-handed the Saxon prince and his fellow-champion, and thus won the kingdom of Saxony. On his father's death he succeeded to both realms, and was noted for the moderation and gentleness of his rule.[1]

Offa, the son of Wærmund, figures, moreover, in the genealogy of Cridda, or Creoda, who was regarded as the founder of the Mercian kingdom. In this pedigree, preserved in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *sub anno* 626, Offa is represented as the third (or, according to another recension, the fifth) in descent from Woden (whom all the Anglo-Saxon kings claimed as their common ancestor), and reckoning backwards, the sixth in ascent from Cridda himself. He was thus sufficiently far amid prehistoric mists, even if we allow that Cridda was a real personage, to gather a nimbus of legend. Evidence for the actual existence of Offa, the son of Wærmund (or Garmund, as the name is found in *Beowulf*), fails us. The ancient English poem of *Widsith* is perhaps older than even *Beowulf*, for it is ascribed by Professor

[1] Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, Elton's translation (London, 1894), l. iv. 130, 138. So, according to Lydian legend, preserved for us by Herodotus (i. 85), the dumb son of Crœsus broke suddenly into speech during the sack of Sardis. On seeing a Persian soldier about to slay his father, he exclaimed in terror: "Man, do not kill Crœsus!" Similar tales of dumb boys speaking under the influence of strong emotion are told by the Peuls or Foula of West Africa (*Rev. d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*, iv. (Paris, 1913), 253), the Japanese (*Nihongi*, Aston's translation (London, 1896), i. 174), and the Annamites (Dumoutier, *Légendes Historiques del' Annam et du Tonkin* (Hanoi, 1887), 32, 82).

Chadwick substantially to the end of the sixth century. It mentions Offa as ruling over Angel—that is, the old continental England—and as having won the greatest of kingdoms.[1] But it adds nothing to the data. He remains only a legendary figure of interest and speculation.

In the eighth century, however, emerges in Mercia a real live Offa, whose character and deeds powerfully impressed his fellow-countrymen. The warlike Ethelbald, after a reign of forty years, clouded latterly by defeat and probably domestic dissensions, had been murdered by his bodyguard in 757. The throne had been then seized by Beornred, who had perhaps instigated the plot, but did not succeed in consolidating his power. Within a few months Offa, the son of Thingferth, and a kinsman of Ethelbald, defeated him, and was recognised as king. Aided by the temporary collapse of Wessex, he carried his arms from Wales to Kent, defeated Wessex in the battle of Bensington, and made himself supreme in England south of the Humber. As a last step to this end, in 793 he contrived the murder of Ethelbert, king of East Anglia, and overran and annexed that kingdom. So great was his power and reputation, that he corresponded on friendly terms with Charlemagne, and obtained the pope's consent to the erection of Lichfield into an archbishopric. He was a lavish donor to the Church. Among the monasteries he built and endowed was that of Saint Alban's—this possibly by way of atonement for the crime of Ethelbert's death.

He had married a lady named Cynethryth. Of her antecedents and of the marriage nothing whatever is known. Her existence is vouched for in charters and by two coins bearing her name. The Englishman Alcuin, writing from the court of Charlemagne to her son Ecgferth and others, more than once refers to the queen (not however naming her), sending greetings and good wishes, admonishing Ecgferth to imitate her piety and her pity for the poor, and expressing

[1] Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation* (Cambridge, 1907), 127–9. But see *infra*, p. 65.

his devotion to her.[1] After her husband's death she seems to have entered the cloister and become abbess of Cookham. Among the acts of the Council or synod of Clovesho in 797 or 798 is an account of the termination of a curious dispute to which she was party. It seems that Ethelbald had given the convent to the church of Canterbury, by a form similar to that observed in the fraudulent gift by Oswulf of Earl Albert's land at Oesewalum to the convent of Southminster. By the hand of Archbishop Cuthbert he sent the deeds, together with a sod from the land, to be placed on the altar of Christ Church "for his perpetual salvation." But after Archbishop Cuthbert's death two of his officials carried away the deeds to Cenulf, king of the West Saxons, who immediately converted the cloister with all its appurtenances to his own use. Offa subsequently included the convent in the West Saxon possessions he took from Cenulf after the battle of Bensington, and subjugated to Mercian rule. When the deeds were consequently of no further use to him, Cenulf had repented and sent them back to the church at Canterbury, with an offering of money, praying that he should not remain under anathema. Offa, however, though he had not obtained the deeds, kept the cloister of Cookham as long as he lived, and left it to his heirs. Athelhard, the archbishop, having in the second year of Kenwulf, king of the Mercians, brought the deeds before the council and got a decree in his favour, came to an agreement with Cynedrytha, the abbess, that she should give him in exchange for the cloister of Cookham certain lands in Kent which had belonged to Offa, with the deeds relating to them, and that Athelhard should grant to her the Mercian monastery called Pectanege, given to him by Ecgferth, with its documents of title. This agreement was entered into before the whole synod, "so that no dispute may arise hereafter between us and our heirs and

[1] Edith Rickert, *The Old English Offa Saga, Modern Philology*, ii., (Chicago, 1905) 328, quoting Alcuin's letters, Jaffé, *Monum. Alcuiniana*. This work is not accessible to me.

those of King Offa."[1] Unless Cynedrytha the abbess were identical with Cynethryth the widow of Offa, this document is hardly intelligible. The good understanding between her and the archbishop is quite consistent with the friendly relations that on the whole subsisted between Offa and the archbishop, and is in marked contrast to those between Kenwulf and his house on the one hand and Athelhard's successor, Wulfred, on the other hand. With this transaction Cynedrytha (or Cynethryth) passes out of history.

On Offa's death in 796 his son Ecgferth succeeded him. He died after a few months' reign, and Kenwulf then secured the throne. Who Kenwulf was we have no certain knowledge. His claim to be of the royal house rests upon the genealogies given by Florence of Worcester, who traces him from Wybba, the son of Creoda, and the second recognised king. Florence's authority is not altogether satisfactory; but he may be repeating the statement of some earlier writer now lost, or recording a tradition more or less trustworthy. Besides Ecgferth, Offa had, presumably by Cynethryth, sundry daughters. Eadburh (Eadburga) married Beorhtric (Brihtric, Brithric), king of the West Saxons. Ælflæd married, according to Symeon of Durham, Æthelred, king of Northumbria. The names of two others are given in a questionable charter; they are Æthelburh, who is said to have been an abbess, and Æthelswith. A fifth, Ælfthryth, is mentioned in Florence's genealogies; and the legend states that she was betrothed to Ethelbert, the murdered king of East Anglia. Kenwulf, as already mentioned, was married to a lady of this name, about whom we know nothing. It is quite possible that she was Offa's daughter, and that Kenwulf sought to strengthen his claim on the throne by such a marriage.[2]

[1] Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, i., No. 291; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 512. Compare the observations of Miss Rickert, *op. cit.*, 329.

[2] The best account of Offa and Kenwulf is to be found in *England before the Norman Conquest*, by Prof. Oman (a former President of this Society) (London, 1910), 335 *sqq.* and 384 *sqq.*

There are indications that both Offa and Kenwulf belonged to the province of the Hwiccas. Setting aside the evidence of the legend, Offa's numerous gifts to Worcester and other ecclesiastical foundations in the Hwiccas, and Kenwulf's selection of Winchcombe as the place of his own ecclesiastical foundation and of his burial, point in this direction.

As a military leader and sagacious politician Offa had no equal among the kings of the Heptarchy before Egbert of Wessex. The profound impression he made on the minds of his fellow-countrymen is not to be measured simply by the success of the moment, but by the reputation he left behind him, and the legends that gathered round his name. How far these legends were transmitted by writing we can only guess. Little of Anglo-Saxon literature has reached us, and we are compelled to rely on the hints we get from writers after the Norman Conquest. Walter Map, writing about the end of the twelfth century, mentions Offa, whom he calls *regem strenuissimum*, and refers to the dyke with which he had enclosed the Welsh in the proper bounds of their own Wales, and which was and is still known by the king's name. Having raised his kingdom to the height of prosperity, Map tells us, Offa had married the daughter of the Roman emperor. But this did not prevent a Roman invasion, caused by greed of the riches of Offa's realm. The invasion was defeated by the aid of Gado, described as the son of the king of the Vandals.[1] Gado seems to be none other than Wada, the father of Weland, or Wayland Smith. His name was well known in Anglo-Saxon sagas, and by no means forgotten even during the later Middle Ages, though now remembered only in the names of one or two remote country-places like Wade's Gap in Northumberland, and in occasional allusions like those of Chaucer to the "tale of Wade."[1]

[1] Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, dist. ii., c. 17.

[1] Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, i. 376. Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, l. iii., st. 88; id., *Canterbury Tales*, *Works* (ed. Skeat,) iv. 433. A small fragment of the tale of Wade was discovered at Peterhouse, Cambridge, about twenty years ago by Dr. James, now Provost of King's College, and Mr. Israel Gollancz (*Academy*, 15th February, 1896).

His transformation in Map's narrative into the son of the king of the Vandals is evidence of literary influence, which may have been derived from some learned monk before the Conquest. The references to the dyke and to Offa's marriage with the Roman emperor's daughter are more likely to have been, in origin at least, traditional.

A little later than Map, in the earlier years of the reign of Henry III., a group of chroniclers, writing at the monastery of Saint Alban's, tell the tale of Offa more at large. As the founder of their convent, or at all events one of their earliest and most important benefactors, they had a special interest in him, and desired to clear his character and to enhance his glory. The writers of this group generally pass under the name of Matthew Paris, who gathered their works into final form and added to them, probably up to the time of his death in the year 1237. Their account of Offa forms part of the general chronicle. It also appears in a separate work, the *Historia Duorum Offarum.*[1] This is an attempt to connect the historical Offa with the Offa of prehistoric legend, and to exhibit the parallelism between their careers. Accordingly the prehistoric Offa is made the son of Warmund, a king who founded Warwick, and who is declared to be celebrated both traditionally and in written stories. His only son, Offa, was blind until his seventh and dumb until his thirtieth year. Riganus, a noble, regarding Offa as negligible, endeavours to get Warmund to adopt him as his successor. Foiled in this, he threatens the king with arms. A conference of nobles is called, at which Offa breaks silence, and discomfits Riganus and his party. War ensues. The opposing armies meet on either side of a river hardly to be crossed by horse and man. Offa does cross it, however,

[1] This work was printed by William Wats, D.D., in his edition of Matthew Paris (*Matthæi Paris Monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia Major*, etc., London, 1640). So far as I know, though often referred to, it has never since been reprinted ; but an extract relating the marriage and subsequent adventures of Offa the First was included in the volume of Chaucer Analogues issued by the Chaucer Society in 1888.

with a chosen band, and routs the host of Riganus, killing his two sons. Riganus himself is drowned in flight. In all this the ancient saga preserved by Saxo is clearly to be discerned. Warmund now resigns his throne to Offa, and dying, is buried with a gorgeous funeral at the illustrious city of Gloucester. Offa is crowned. One day as he is hunting he hears in the dense woods the sound of weeping and lamentation. Following the voice, he finds a beautiful maiden, who tells him that she has been persecuted by her father, the ruler of York, with unnatural desires, to which she has refused to yield; and he thereupon had ordered her to be cast out to the wild beasts. Offa takes pity on her, putting her in the care of some of his own people. Some years later his nobles urge him to marry, and insist upon his doing so. The king yields, and marries the maiden who alone pleases him, the maiden whom he rescued from the forest. By her he has a son and daughter. He rules his realm in peace and prosperity, and his counsel and other help are sought from time to time by the neighbouring kings. Thus the king of the Northumbrians, being hard beset by the barbarous nation of the Scots, appeals to Offa, making proposals to wed his daughter and submit himself and his kingdom to him. Offa goes to his help. When he has put the enemy to flight, he sends a messenger with letters home. The messenger on his journey is entertained in a friendly way at the court of the king whose daughter Offa had married. There he is made drunk, and his letters are intercepted, and changed for a letter stating that Offa has suffered reverses, not on account of the cowardice of his troops, but because of his sins; and considering what sins they may be which have so displeased the Most High, the only thing he can lay to his charge is his unhappy marriage with that wicked woman without the consent of his own people. He therefore commands that she with her children be cast out into some desolate place unknown to men, and left as a prey to wild beasts and birds or reavers of the forests, their hands and feet being cut off, that she and her children may

perish. When the messenger reaches them the councillors are stupified, but reluctantly obey. The queen and her children are cast out into a desert place, where, sparing the mother on account of her beauty, the executioners cut the children to pieces. A certain hermit, however, hears the cries of the victims, and finds the mother and the bodies of the children. He collects the severed members, puts them together, and making the sign of the cross over them, revives them. He afterwards takes care of mother and children. Two months later Offa, returning victorious, is informed of what has happened. He mourns, but is aroused by his councillors, and made to put aside his grief. Going hunting, he arrives at the hermitage, where he recalls to mind his wife and children, and breaks into sighs and weeping. The hermit comforts him with the tidings that they still live, and restores them to him. Explanations ensue, and amid the joy of reunion Offa vows to found a monastery. But he forgets his vow, and dies without having performed it, leaving it as a duty on his son to fulfil. It remains, however, unperformed until the time of the second Offa, Winered, the son of Tuinfreth.

The account here given of Offa's wife bears no resemblance to the tale preserved by Saxo, but it seems to contain a dim reminiscence of the Thrytho of *Beowulf*. The wife in this tale, however, so far from being a truculent personage, is falsely accused of wickedness. Her adventures belong to the cycle of the Innocent Persecuted Wife, of which the variants best known are the tale of the Two Sisters who envied their Cadette, in the *Arabian Nights*, and Chaucer's tale of Custance. The men who must be credited with the history of the Two Offas were chiefly concerned with the glorification of their monastery. To that object everything else would be subordinate. They were, moreover, in that stage of civilisation when the true principles of historical criticism were not yet understood. They could not distinguish fact from fancy: they believed what they wished to believe; and to them

history was what they thought it ought to have been, without regard to the necessity of inquiring what it actually was. Now in this case the problem was to account for the monastery of Saint Alban's, and to claim for it the most respectable antiquity possible. To seize, therefore, on the tradition of an earlier Offa, and to link the monastery up with Offa the First, was an achievement worth attempting. The writer apparently knew the Thrytho tale. But either it had previously become contaminated with the Innocent Persecuted Wife story, or he himself manipulated it in that direction in order to harmonise it with his purpose. In the life of Offa the Second we shall see an alternative procedure.

There can be little doubt that the life of Offa the Second, and therefore probably that of Offa the First, is immediately derived from a written original, now lost, though it had its foundation in oral tradition. The hero's name is given as Pinered, by an evident misreading of the Anglo-Saxon character for W: it should be Winered, or Winfrith. He was said to be the only son of Tuinfred, a nobleman of royal stock, and a descendant of Offa the First. Like his prototype, he was blind and deaf, and until adolescence a cripple. Remembering Offa the First, his parents present him in the temple, praying for his full faculties, and renewing the previous vow of a monastery. The country of the Mercians was then ruled by a tyrant named Beormred, who persecuted, bound and put to death all of royal blood. Among others, he laid snares for Tuinfred and his wife, to banish or slay them, but Winered he deemed beneath his notice. Tuinfred with his wife and family fled. Winered or Winefred was then a young man. He stood up as if awaking from heavy slumber. His limbs straightened, and he recovered their use: the bond of his tongue was loosened, and he spake. From a blind and deaf cripple he became elegant in body, eloquent in speech, and sharp of sight, so that none in the kingdom could compare with him. The Mercians called him Offa the Second: they flocked to him, swore fidelity, and made him their leader

against Beormred. After a hard fight Offa is victorious, and Beormred is driven out of the kingdom. Offa's father, Tuinfred, proposes to resign his earldom to his son, and to enter the cloister which his son has vowed to found. Offa, however, refuses the earldom, while he renews his promise to found the monastery. He is chosen king of Mercia.

At that time the great King Charles reigned in France. A certain maiden related to him was liable to an ignominious death for a flagitious crime (undefined) which she had committed. From reverence to her royal dignity she was not adjudged to be delivered over to fire and sword, but was condemned to be put into a boat without oars or tackle, and so exposed to the mercy of the winds and waves. She was driven by storms on the coast of Britain, and on that part of it which was subject to Offa. Being brought before the king, she was interrogated by him. In the tongue of her own country she answered, declaring herself to be a kinswoman of Charles, the king of the Franks, by name Drida, but through the oppression of certain base-born persons with whom she disdained an alliance by marriage she had been condemned to this adventure; adding with tears: "But God, who delivers the innocent from the snares of those who lie in wait for them, has happily sent me a captive to thy protection, Great King, that my misfortune may be changed into happiness, and I may be declared to all posterity as happier in exile than in the country of my birth." The king, moved by pity, sends her to his mother, to be taken care of until the royal commands be known. After a few days, when she has recovered from her hardships, she is recognised as the most beautiful of women; but she proves a troublesome pupil to the old countess, sowing discord between the countess and her husband. Offa, however, marries her secretly without consulting his father and mother or his nobles. After the deaths of his father and mother the queen gives birth to a son, Egfrid (Ecgferth), and to other children. There follows an account of Offa's successful wars against the neighbouring

kings, of his relations with Charles, king of the Franks, and his successor Charlemagne, and of the building of Offa's dyke. Offa's humility in his final victory against the Welsh, his humanity and piety in burying the dead, and his munificence in disposing of the spoils, are the subject of eulogy. He marries one of his daughters to Brithric, king of the West Saxons, and another to Atheldred, king of the Northumbrians. There was a youth named Albert (Ethelbert), of the blood of the East Anglian kings, to whom Offa had granted their realm. A certain versifier, the author tells us, had elegantly written of him :

> "Albertus juvenis fuerat rex, fortis ad arma,
> Pace pius, pulcher corpore, mente sagax."

The archbishop of Lichfield and the bishop of Leicester counselled the king to wed his daughter Aelfleda to him. The queen, Quendrida (that is, it is explained, Queen Drida, so called because she was unexpectedly married to the king), was jealous of their influence with the king, and pursued them with inexorable hatred, being greedy, crafty and haughty, as became one who drew her origin from the lineage of Charles. She therefore opposed all their schemes for reconciling the neighbouring kings with Offa, and uniting them to him by matrimonial alliances. When she knew that the king had called Albert and received him kindly, and had offered him his daughter in marriage, her anger was kindled. She accused Albert to the king of conspiring with Charles to avenge the wrongs of his family and kingdom by obtaining possession of the realm of the Mercians and holding it as tributary to Charles. She accordingly advised the king to put him secretly to death. The king refused, in abhorrence of such treachery, and quitted her in anger. The two kings feasted together and passed the day in great joy. Meanwhile the queen ordered the marriage-bed to be adorned in royal fashion with silken curtains and coverings. Beside the bed she reared a magnificent royal seat, surrounded on all sides

with curtains. But beneath it she caused a deep pit to be sunk. Returning then to the royal hall, both kings rejoiced to see her. Jesting with Albert, who suspected nothing, she invited him to come to his bride, who was eagerly awaiting him. Rising, he followed the queen ; but King Offa, fearing no evil, remained behind. Arrived in the chamber, his retainers were excluded, and the queen begged him to be seated while awaiting the bride. When he sat down on the seat prepared he fell with it into the bottom of the pit, and was immediately overwhelmed and suffocated by the cushions, clothing and curtains thrown down on him by the queen and her accomplices. The crime was completed by beheading the corpse, and sending it away in a sack at once to a distance for burial. On the way the head dropped out of the sack in the darkness ; a blind man stumbled upon it and received his sight ; thus Albert was recognised as a martyr. When Offa learned the crime he shut himself up, and mourned and fasted for three days. He ordered the queen to be kept in confinement for the rest of her life, and never again admitted her to his society. After a number of years thieves, attracted by the silver and gold in her possession, robbed her of them and threw her into her own well, where by the just judgement of God she breathed her last. Meanwhile Offa, when consolation had been administered to him by the holy bishops already mentioned, as guiltless in intention of Albert's murder, sent a powerful expedition into East Anglia, and taking possession of it, united it to his own kingdom, which was thus in no small measure increased. Whether guilty or no, he did not hesitate to avail himself to the fullest extent of the fruits of the crime.

The intention of the narrative thus far, to throw the entire blame upon the shoulders of the queen, is clear. To be precise, the monks of St. Alban's did not *invent* this tale for the purpose of whitewashing their founder. Their task was easier. No phenomenon is better established than the confusion which takes place in tradition between two personages of similar attributes, name or position. Examples

are abundant ; the most familiar to us is the popular identification of Thomas Cromwell, the destroyer of monasteries, with Oliver the Protector. In the course of centuries Thrytho, the wife of the prehistoric Offa, had become confused with Cynethryth, the wife of the historic king. Cynethryth is a name closely related to Thrytho ; in its Latin form, Drida, it is identical. The monks adopted the tradition ; they elaborated it with rhetoric and circumstance, and they applied it to the end they had in view. To the historical student, of course, the result is pure romance. The laconic statement, already quoted, of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, written at a date when, or in a community where, the tradition had not yet confused the facts, expresses the true conclusion.

But this is not all. Offa had not yet performed his vow to build a monastery. To excuse the poor innocent monarch, we are now told that the performance had hitherto been hindered by the wicked queen. When at last he was rid of her he solemnly and in full conclave, with tears and clasped hands, renewed the promise. Not many days after, while staying at Bath, he had a message from heaven. On the royal couch at night an angel visited him, directing him to take up the relics of Alban, the protomartyr of the English or Britons, and place them in a more worthy shrine. Perhaps this vision was intended as a divine recognition of his innocence. At all events, it led to a search at Verulam for the relics, their discovery accompanied by the usual apparatus of miracles, and the foundation and lavish endowment of the abbey. The narrative, given in full detail, occupies the remaining pages of the Life, and after relating the king's death and burial, the author piously concludes by foretelling a heavenly crown more enduring than that of his earthly kingdom. But we need not concern ourselves with that.

Ethelbert must, very soon after his death, have been accounted a martyr. Such was the habit of the time, and of hundreds of years since. In that way the people were wont to express their commiseration, their sympathy, their

admiration for a victim, and their condemnation of his murderers. His relics were enshrined at Hereford. His murder must therefore have taken place at or near that city. Military exigencies no doubt often called Offa to the Welsh border ; and local tradition at Hereford assigns him a palace at Sutton, about three miles away. In the *Hyde Register*, written shortly after the end of the tenth century, Ethelbert is recognised as a saint ; it follows that his name and fame were by that time well established. Before the end of the next century Florence of Worcester records the fact of his murder by Offa's order, and at the persuasion of Cynethryth. This implies that at least the main lines of the legend were then fully developed.

About the beginning of the thirteenth century the celebrated Gerald de Barry, better known as Giraldus Cambrensis, among his voluminous works, wrote a Life of Saint Ethelbert. He was a Canon of Hereford. The Life was written at the urgent request of " certain great men," probably connected with the cathedral and the monastery. It doubtless embodied the local tradition, embellished with all the flowers of imagination and rhetoric of which the author was capable, and which would serve to kindle devotion to the patron saint of the cathedral. Unfortunately we have nothing but fragments, preserved by the Bollandist editors of the *Acta Sanctorum*, for the only known manuscript has perished. Giraldus throws the initial guilt of the murder indeed upon the queen, who suggested it ; but he does not acquit Offa of yielding to her persuasions. It was agreed on in a private conference, to which only a few of the nobles were called. With the assistance of Guymbertus, a man of blood ready for any crime, the victim was lured to a retired place to discuss with Offa the errand on which he had come, namely the marriage with his daughter Alfrida (Ælfthryth). There he was set upon by Guymbert and his accomplices ; he was bound ; his head was cut off by Guymbert, and presented, drenched with blood, to the king and queen.

Giraldus, not being a monk of St. Albans, had no special motive for clearing Offa of guilt, though the part assigned to the queen indicates that the writers of St. Alban's had the genuine tradition behind them in laying the chief blame on her.

He goes on to cite from Asser, the biographer of Alfred the Great, the following remarkable story. When the reports of miracles began to grow about the martyr's tomb, Offa commissioned two bishops in whom he had confidence to go to Hereford and investigate them. It happened that a certain notable (*potentem virum et magnificum*), who ruled in Ledbury North, in Montgomery and elsewhere very widely in those parts, had come at that very time to seek through the martyr's merits for recovery from sickness that troubled him. He suffered, in fact, from a continual quivering of the head (*continuam capitis concussionem*), and from it and the result of his suffering he had obtained the nick-name of Egwin Shaking-head (Egwinus *Quatiens-caput*). That night, humbly and devoutly with vigils and earnest prayers, he waited at the sepulchre. At length by divine disposition he sank down for a little while in slumber. It was but for a moment. Uproused again, and looking around him on all sides, he inquired from his followers where was that good man who had so graciously supported his head on his own bosom while he slept. But when he received the answer that no one had seen such a person, he felt himself restored to health, because since sleeping he was at length able to control his head and keep it quiet and without unusual movement. Immediately rising up, he made a gift to God and the martyr Ethelbert of the whole of Ledbury North, with all its appurtenances. This, it is said, was the first endowment of land conferred on the saint.[1]

Asser's text has been terribly mangled by the medieval forger. This legend, among others, is rightly rejected by

[1] *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer (Rolls Series), 1863, iii. 422. See also Preface, xlv.

critics as due to a later hand. The mention of Montgomery, indeed, is enough to put us on our guard. The Welshman Asser never wrote that name. Montgomery, to be sure, was a lordship beyond Offa's Dyke, carved out of Powis by Englishmen before the Norman Conquest. But it owed its name of Montgomery (first given to the castle and the town at its foot) to Roger of Montgomery, earl of the Mercians, who founded the castle between 1066 and 1072.[1]

Walter Map, Giraldus's contemporary, identifies the nameless benefactor of the see, but post-dates the event by some two hundred years. According to this version Wild Edric (Edricus Wilde), a noble of the Welsh border, to which also Map belonged, and one of the last defenders of Anglo-Saxon freedom against the Norman, left a son Alnodus (or Alnoth), a man of great wisdom and piety, though born of a supernatural lady whom Map calls a demon. When he was somewhat advanced in years, Alnoth became paralysed. All the physicians gave him up as incurable, and he was advised to make shift to get as far as the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul, where he might be sure of obtaining restoration to health. He replied with spirit that he would never inflict such an affront on Saint Ethelbert, king and martyr, to whose diocese he belonged (*cujus ipse parochianus erat*) without first presenting himself to him. He therefore caused himself to be brought down to Hereford, where the first night he spent before the altar of the martyr he was cured. By way of showing his gratitude, he made over in perpetuity to God and the Blessed Virgin and to the holy King Ethelbert his manor of Ledbury North, with all its appurtenances, which remained part of the endowment of the see, and at the time when Map wrote was reputed to bring in the large sum of thirty pounds a year to its lords.[2]

These two versions of the story are probably both derived from the popular tradition of Herefordshire. Map, we have

[1] Freeman, *Norman Conquest* (1871), iv. 501 *sqq.*

[2] Map, *De Nugis*, dist. ii., c. xii.

the best reason for knowing, was well acquainted with Herefordshire folklore, and was probably a native of the county or its neighbourhood. If we cannot trace the immediate provenience of the version quoted by Giraldus, there is little doubt it is from the same source. Probably it represents an earlier form of the tale. Unfortunately neither version throws any light on the development of the general legend of Saint Ethelbert, or on the question how and when the queen came to be inculpated.

We saw just now that one of Offa's daughters, Eadburh, was married to Brithric, king of Wessex. Asser, in a passage apparently genuine,[1] relates the tale of Brithric's death as told him repeatedly by King Alfred himself. It attributes to Eadburh inordinate greed of power, arbitrary and violent conduct, *like her father's* (*more paterno tyrannice vivere incepit*), and jealousy of every friend of her husband's, insomuch that she used to accuse them to the king with the view of depriving them of life, or at least of influence. When she could not succeed in her object otherwise, she would put them out of the way by poison. Unhappily Brithric himself tasted of the poison prepared for one of his favourites, and so died. The queen fled with immense treasures beyond the sea, and came to the court of Charlemagne, who offered her the choice of marriage to his son or himself. She replied: "If I am to choose, I choose your son, because he is the younger." Charlemagne replied that if she had chosen him she should have had his son, but since she had chosen his son she should have neither. He however made her abbess of a nunnery. Her conduct in that capacity was such that he subsequently expelled her. A course of degradation and misery followed; and she ultimately ended her days as a beggar in the streets of Pavia.

[1] It was doubted by Thomas Wright, but after consideration Dr. Reinhold Pauli (*König Aelfred und seine Stelle in der Geschichte Englands*, Berlin, 1851, 11) found in favour of it. Since his time it has been generally accepted.

If this be a genuine paragraph of Asser's life of Alfred, the tale, coming directly from the West Saxon royal family, is doubtless in the main true. The comparison of Eadburh's disposition to her father's may be confidently offered as one argument among others in its favour. For if the tale had been recorded after the legend of St. Ethelbert had thrown the blame for the crime upon Cynethryth, and after the general assimilation of her conduct in popular belief to that of the traditional Thrytho, the comparison would have been with Cynethryth's and not with Offa's disposition. That development of the Ethelbert legend, therefore, cannot have been earlier than the tenth century. It is plausibly suggested, both by Professor Chadwick [1] and by Miss Rickert, [2] the two writers who have most fully examined the Offa saga, that Eadburh's crime caused, or at least assisted, the transfer of the responsibility for Ethelbert's murder from Offa to his innocent wife. That is to say, Eadburh was confused with her mother, and both with the legendary Thrytho: a process probably facilitated by Eadburh's flight across the sea to the court of Charlemagne, with which according to the story Queen Drida (Cynethryth) was originally connected.

From all this it appears that, whether or not there was any substratum of fact for the existence of Offa the First as a prehistoric king of the Angles, there was from the earliest times a tradition in our own country and elsewhere of such a personage. For our own country we have clear proof both in *Beowulf* and in the still older poem of *Widsith*. Outside the poems, it is true, we lack any direct evidence of its persistence in folklore down to the thirteenth century. But in the twelfth century we do find in the *De Nugis Curialium* a legend of the historical Offa reproduced in a form that gives reason to suspect transmission wholly or partly by means of

[1] Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation* (Cambridge, 1907) p. 121.

[2] Edith Rickert, *Modern Philology* ii. (Chicago, January, 1905), 343.

some literary work now lost. Nothing is more likely than that a favourite popular tradition should be embodied in literature. The suspicion is strongly confirmed by the *Vitæ duorum Offarum*, written a few years later, and telling the story of both Offas at large, and with much rhetorical elaboration. As there given, it is intended to lead up to the tale of the foundation of St. Alban's Abbey, and to the exaltation of the historical Offa, who is claimed as the founder. The parallelism of the lives of the two Offas proves that there has been assimilation between the traditions of the historical Offa and his prototype, the prehistorical Offa: assimilation that has probably tended to strengthen and render permanent the general legend. When Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, was put to death by Offa, and was taken for a martyr, his legend necessarily came to form part of the Offa saga, and, perhaps assisted by the actual misdeeds of Offa's daughter, united itself to the body of the saga so as to illustrate the ruthlessness of Offa's wife. Though the earliest mention of Saint Ethelbert gives no particulars beyond his name and the place of his shrine, Florence's reference to the murder involves the substance of the whole story. It should be pointed out, however, that in holding Offa as well as Cynethryth guilty, it agrees with the account given by Giraldus a century later, probably embodying the local tradition of Hereford, rather than with the still later version of the monks of St. Alban's. The monks are not above the suspicion of more or less intentional trimming of the details, in order to purge their hero.

This long digression has been necessary because the legend of Saint Kenelm is really a pendant to the Offa saga.[1] Fully to understand it, therefore, we require some knowledge of the

[1] The resemblances between the legends of Saint Ethelbert and Saint Kenelm, in their developed forms, have been pointed out in detail by Miss Rickert (*Modern Philology*, ii. 335). Having regard to the facts and arguments set forth in the previous pages, I need only claim in addition that in both cases the blame is thrown upon a lady who, there can be little doubt, was entirely innocent.

latter. Both relate to the royal family of Mercia. Kenelm himself may have been a grandson of Offa; at all events, he was the son of a lady who bore the name (if Florence of Worcester may be trusted) of one of Offa's daughters (Ælfthryth). We cannot, in the face of the evidence brought forward in this paper, attach much value to Florence's authority for the events here dealt with. Nor does he expressly identify Kenwulf's wife with Offa's daughter. Still, that identity is by no means impossible or, apart from the Ethelbert legend, improbable. The story of Ælfthryth's marriage with Ethelbert—a marriage never consummated—rests on no tangible evidence. It was an imaginative incident traditionally developed in the process of converting Cynethryth into the double of Thrytho. King Kenwulf, Kenelm's father, succeeded Ecgfrid (Ecgferth), so far as we are aware, peacefully. The genealogy given by Florence shows that if he was a kinsman, the nearest common ancestor was Penda, the king who was slain fighting against Northumbria in the year 655. The expression in the chronicle, however, is vague, and may have included kindred by marriage. He certainly belonged to the province of the Hwiccas, as Offa seems to have done. His daughter Quendryth (Cwoenthryth) bore a name similar to that of Offa's wife—in its Latin form (Quendrida) identical with it. Probably, indeed, its similarity reacted with disastrous effect upon her fame, when once the people had got it into their heads that Kenelm was a martyr and a saint. We find that the names were in fact confused, and confused very early, if the formal accord of 897 already cited be genuine.[1] In that document Quendryth, who is incontrovertibly meant, is referred to not by her proper name of Cwoenthryth, but (twice over) by the name of Cynethryth.[2]

[1] *Supra*, p. 24.

[2] There was certainly contamination between the legend of the murder of Ethelbert and that of Kenelm. In the most developed form of his legend, for instance, Ethelbert, like Kenelm, is stated to have had a vision of the cutting down of a great tree and his own flight as a

Kenelm may have been murdered by somebody; he may have been murdered in the Clent Hills. That seems the most obvious suggestion to account for the legend; but there is no word about it in any authentic history. If he was murdered, it might well have escaped report by a West Saxon chronicler; and all the other chronicles that have reached us were compiled after the Norman Conquest, when the real truth was forgotten. If he was murdered, we are ignorant of his murderer. If he was murdered, it must have been in his father's lifetime, because, as we have seen, he disappears from history ten years before Kenwulf's death. He was then a youth of comparatively tender age; and the death of such a child of whom no ill is known, and who occupies a royal position, is one that appeals with pathetic insistence to the popular imagination, all the more if it be caused by violent accident or design. It did not take much in those days, nor for many ages later, to make a saint. Even without a violent end the process was easy. Every violent end might be regarded as a martyrdom. To be convinced of this, we have only to think of such figures in our own history as St. Ethelbert, Edward the Martyr, St. Edmund, Simon de Montfort, Edward II., Charles I. (and they are not the only ones), upon whom popular opinion has conferred the martyr's crown, heedless of any moral or spiritual qualifications. Some peoples go further. In Sicily a remarkable cult is addressed to executed criminals. The Decollati, as such malefactors are called, are indiscriminately invoked by a public whose sympathy they have secured merely by the violent expiation of their crimes.[2]

bird into heaven (*Nova Legenda Anglie: as collected by John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave and others and first printed by Wynkyn de Worde*, A.D. 1516, ed. Horstmann, Oxford, 1901, i. 412 sqq.). Mediæval miracle mongers had little originality: they copied one another continually. In this case probably the legend of Ethelbert was copied from that of Kenelm.

[2] I have given an account of the cult from the writings of Dr. Pitrè the eminent Sicilian author, supplemented by my own observations *Folk-lore* xxi. (1910), 168.

The fact is that a legend of the kind we are considering always starts from a state of excited feeling. In such a condition people "see things" and "hear tell of things" which they repeat with all sorts of distortion and exaggeration. That is how we must account for many a legend of saint and martyr alike in Christianity and in other religions. So in India, for example, a man who dies a violent death becomes a *bhut*, a malignant ghost, whose vagaries are only to be appeased by offerings and worship. The worship begins in his immediate family; it often spreads around the neighbourhood, and he becomes what Mr. Crooke calls a "village godling." Sometimes even it extends to a wider area, and he attains to more dazzling heights of divinity.

Kenelm was no doubt buried, as he naturally would be, at the monastery where his father ultimately rested, and which Kenwulf doubtless intended as the family mausoleum. Nothing contributed so much to the prosperity of a monastery as the possession of the body of one who was reputed to be a saint. If for any reason Kenelm had obtained an incipient reputation of this kind, it would not be in human nature that the monks should discourage it. The seal of sanctity is martyrdom: when martyrdom could be attributed to the saint his cult was assured. But for martyrdom somebody must be found upon whom the guilt of the saint's death can be thrust. In the present case the romance that dwells, though often dormant, at the heart of the laity, would concur with the fanatical asceticism of the monks to suggest that a woman was the author of the crime. Here, perhaps, it was that the unfortunate resemblance between the names of Cwoenthryth and the already damned Cynethryth came into play. Quendryth was a lady of a stout and determined character. We have seen it expressed in her long contest with Archbishop Wulfred. The litigation took place in the general council of the realm; it lasted for years; and it must have been a matter of common knowledge among all who were interested in either of the litigants—that is to say, among the members

of all the higher classes and the religious communities of the country—from whom it would filter down in a vaguer way to the other classes. Her name and the impression thus conveyed of her personality, handed down and exaggerated in gossip probably through more than one generation, might well have been confused with those of Cynethryth (originally derived from the mythical Thrytho), and thus might have fastened upon her in tradition the guilt of Kenelm's death. The motive of the crime must have been more slowly evolved. It did not attain its final form until society had become reconstituted after the Danish wars, for it is based upon constitutional rights unknown to the English of the ninth and tenth centuries.

The rise and growth of the tradition which we have thus attempted to trace suggest serious misgivings about the value of statements of historical fact unsupported by the witness of contemporary documents, or of some other evidence unambiguous in its terms, and capable of being brought into direct relation with the events it professes to record. It has been too much the fashion, even with experienced antiquaries and anthropologists, to rely upon tradition as evidence of fact. The practice is perilous, for the cases in which it holds good are limited in number. Oral statements transmitted from mouth to mouth suffer constant and imperceptible deformation. They are altered and deflected from the truth by the forgetfulness and even the memory, by the prejudices, the desires, the interests of those who transmit them. They are influenced by other traditions, by the prepotency of a great name, by the horror of a great tragedy, by the dawn of a great national hope, by political and religious changes, by a hundred cross-currents playing upon the stream of human purposes and aspirations. They are like the sentence whispered in one's neighbour's ear in the game of "Russian Scandal," that is never repeated in the same way, and at the end, when uttered aloud by the last player, is found to have no resemblance to the original confidence.

The legend of Saint Kenelm arose and evolved in such a mental atmosphere and through such experiences as these, from which, as we have seen, it did not escape, even when committed to writing. For centuries it continued to grow; it grew until the social and religious revolution of the sixteenth century created a new environment. The earliest mention of Kenelm as a saint in any document that has descended to us is in the *Hyde Register*, where we also found the earliest mention of Saint Ethelbert. By 1175 the monastery of Winchcombe had increased so much in influence and in wealth that Pope Alexander III. (if the document be genuine), in a Bull addressed to the abbot of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin and Saint Kenelm, recognised his saintship, though he had never been formally canonised, took the monastery under apostolic protection, confirmed to it all its property (of which a long list is embodied in the document), granted a number of privileges, and authorised the brethren to choose their abbot from time to time.[1] The abbey remained in unabated prosperity until its suppression in 1539. The feast-day of the saint was the 17th July, the traditional date of the translation of his relics, on which a fair was of course held. Various martyrologists fix his martyrdom on the 3rd November.[2]

The cult of the saint had its day and came to an end. The monasteries throughout the kingdom fell, and with them the shrines of the saints they possessed. To-day there is not left one stone upon another of the great Abbey of Winchcombe, or of the shrine of the saint and martyr, the fountain of its wealth. The wealth has been confiscated, the broad possessions of the abbey have long ago been secularised. The once busy and important town of Winchcombe is now little better than a village, lying in the peaceful lap of the smiling Cotswold valley. The stream described by Richard

[1] Printed by Rev. D. Royce in *Landboc, sive Registrum Monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Cénhelmi de Winchelcumba* (2 vols., Exeter, 1892–1903), vol. i., p. 25. [2] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xl.

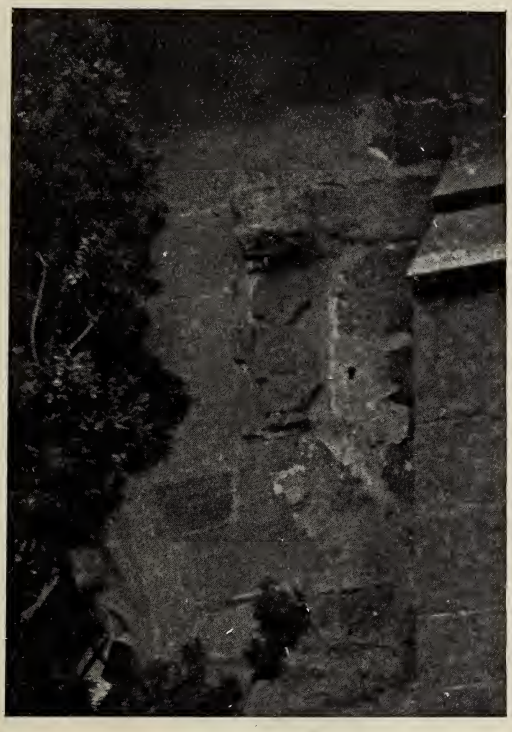
of Cirencester as breaking forth where the faithful bearers rested with the saint's body on their flight from the monks of Worcester has been rudely analysed, and now supplies not credulous pilgrims, but the whole town with water; for which beneficent purpose the chapel that covered its source high up in the Sudeley Woods has given place to a more utilitarian building. Saint Kenelm at Winchcombe is only the echo of a once famous name.

But there is one spot where that name survives with a sacred halo. A gully in the Clent Hills, overlooking the head-waters of the River Stour, and easily reached from Hagley Station on the Oxford Worcester and Wolverhampton Branch of the Great Western Railway, is reputed to be the scene of his martyrdom. At the top of the gully[1] a little church, dedicated to the saint stands over the healing spring said to have burst from the place where the body had lain. The water itself was diverted in the middle of the last century when the church was restored, and it is not now visible; but the bottom of the gully is green all the way down. The church was founded in pre-Norman days, and it retains some relics of that antiquity. On the south side under a rude corbel a short distance below the present roof is a figure in low relief of a saint in the act of blessing. His left hand holds a book upon his breast (Plate I.). Whether this is intended for Kenelm I cannot say. It does not indicate the extreme youth the legend would lead us to expect, though want of skill on the part of the ancient sculptor, or the artistic convention of the time, may account for such defect. The church is still in constant use; but beside the name and this archaic sculpture there is nothing to recall the memory of a cult that once filled the country-side with fervour.[2] The

[1] The gully is now known as Clatterbach. *N. E. D.*, s.v. Bache. See note *supra*, p. 30.

[2] There is another sculpture of similar character in the tympanum of the south door. It represents a crowned figure in the act of blessing, in an ellipse upborne by angels, and is probably intended (as Mr. Keyser, who has examined it, pointed out at the meeting at which the address was delivered) to represent the Saviour.

PLATE I.



FIGURE, ST. KENELM'S CHAPEL.

From photograph by the late Dr. Oscar W. Clark, by kind permission of Mrs. Clark.

veneration of Saint Kenelm, arising perhaps in human compassion and sympathy, supported by a tradition of treachery and cruelty on the part of his sister—so far as we can discover absolutely devoid of foundation — and encouraged by the gross superstitions of the time, in which less worthy motives found their opportunity, is dead. After flourishing for six hundred years it might have seemed immortal, unassailable. It fell before the needs of an altered state of society ; and we must return to the barbarism of the Dark Ages and a more than Prussian brutality ere such a cult can again become a living power. Every human institution, having served its time and purpose, is thus destined to inevitable dissolution. It is for the generations as they pass to take care that the memory of the phases of their progress be not lost. This is the object of historical and antiquarian science. It is by way of contribution, small and imperfect though it be, towards this object, that I have to-day ventured to offer you a study of our Gloucestershire Saint Kenelm in history and in legend.[1]

[1] Since the foregoing pages were in type I observe that Professor Chadwick's more mature opinion assigns an even higher antiquity to *Beowulf* and *Widsith* than stated above, pp. 37, 41. He holds that *Beowulf* must substantially be ascribed to the first half of the seventh century, and that the kernel of *Widsith* is perhaps as old as the fourth century (Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, Cambridge, 1912, 56, 58, 63). This carries the Offa tradition further back, but does not prove the historicity of the events connected with that hero.

LONGBOROUGH.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE FONTS.

PART VIII.

(*a*) FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

By ALFRED C. FRYER, Ph.D., F.S.A.

Coeval with the architectural period designated Decorated, which began to manifest itself during the later years of the thirteenth century, and was in vogue until the closing years of the fourteenth century, we find fonts converging towards one common type, namely a pedestal font of an octagonal design. Nevertheless, some types of an earlier age are still met with in this period, but they are better proportioned, and their decoration is generally more profuse. This was, indeed, a most brilliant epoch of art, when Gothic design was not only perfected, but to a considerable extent standardised.[1]

Shell marble had gone out of fashion before the Decorated period, and fonts, shafts, bases, capitals, coffins, and effigies were now all made of freestone. The earlier work of the craft of marblers of the thirteenth century at this date would have lost the polish for which it was so much admired, while the face of the marble would have begun to peel and decay, and hence there would be little inducement to make further extensive use of this material.

The design of freestone fonts in the thirteenth century was never standardised, and as we saw in our last paper,[2] they were very diversified in appearance and shape. The examples of fonts at Bibury (Pl. vii.), Cam (Pl. viii.), Tormarton (Pl. xii.) and Ozleworth (Pl. xv.) show original

[1] See Bond's *Fonts and Font-covers*, p. 227.

[2] See *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxxviii., p. 187.

and very different conceptions of form and proportion. Of the fourteenth-century fonts still remaining in Gloucestershire churches there is only one of a circular design; and in the case of this bowl at Tarlton the decoration of open quatrefoils in panels reduces the appearance of rotundness.[1] In the preceding century 30 per cent. o the Gloucestershire bowls were circular,[2] and the beautiful font at Bibury[3] was rectangular. Round-shaped fonts in the fourteenth century, however, were very rare, and square bowls were not frequently met with.[4] In Gloucestershire no rectangular bowls dating from this century now exist. Tub-shaped and unmounted bowls are not unknown in this period;[5] and the font at Charlton Kings (Pl. iii.) is tub-shaped, with the upper portion formed into an octagon, while the font at Tarlton possesses only bowl and base, and the stem at Churchdown (Pl. iii.) is really the chamfer for an octagonal bowl.

Public sentiment in the fourteenth century considered that fonts should be polygonal in form, and that they should be either unmounted or raised on polygonal stems. The octagonal shape was usually adopted, and in Gloucestershire we possess three times the number of bowls mounted on

[1] There is a circular font at Burford, Oxfordshire, illustrated in Wall's *Porches and Fonts*, p. 310.

[2] See *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxxviii. Chipping Campden (Pl. x.), Ozleworth (Pl. xv.), Todenham (Pl. xiv.), Tortworth (Pl. vi.), and Welford-on-Avon (Pl. xv.).

[3] See *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxxviii. (illustrated, Pl. vii.).

[4] Newick (Sussex) and Shilton (Oxfordshire), illustrated in Bond's *Fonts and Font-covers*, pp. 228–93; Collegiate Church, Galway, illustrated in Paley's *Baptismal Fonts*.

[5] Carlton Scroope (Lincolnshire), Haydon (Lincolnshire), Heckington (Lincolnshire), Noseley Chapel (Leicestershire), illustrated in Simpson's *Baptismal Fonts;* Burford (Oxfordshire), Exton (Rutlandshire), Ewerby (Lincolnshire), Goadby Marwood (Leicestershire), Partington (Yorkshire), illustrated in Paley's *Baptismal Fonts*; Bloxham (Oxfordshire), Hitchin (Herts), Poynings (Sussex), Tysoe (Warwickshire), illustrated in Bond's *Fonts and Font-covers;* Kiddington (Oxfordshire), Llantrisant (Glamorgan), illustrated in Wall's *Porches and Fonts*.

octagonal pedestals compared with the unmounted bowls. This was a period when ornament was bestowed lavishly on tombs and stallwork, on sedilia and the Easter Sepulchre; and the fonts in this century were also adorned with rich detail, which was employed frequently with artistic taste.

The fourteenth-century artist was particularly fond of decorating either the bowl or pedestal with blind window tracery.[1] The whole of the bowl at Charlton Kings (Pl. iii.) is decorated with a beautiful pattern of curvilinear tracery, while the octagonal pedestal at Longney (Pl. iv.) has angle-buttresses, and on each side a two-light window. No sculptor of Gloucestershire fonts who has depicted window tracery on the bowl or pedestal has represented in stone the figured glass of the window as the masons who carved the fonts at Ewerby (Lincolnshire), and Partington (Yorkshire),[2] have endeavoured to portray.

The massive bowl and pillar at Whaddon probably date from the early years of the century, as each face of the octagonal bowl is adorned with three rectangular panels, containing niches[3] similar to tracery found in certain windows dating from the closing years of the thirteenth century and the early years of the fourteenth century. Examples of this detail may be seen in tracery at Guisborough Abbey[4] and at Cottingham in Yorkshire.[5]

The tower of Ashchurch dates from the fourteenth century, when probably the base and plinth of the font

[1] These are some of the fonts where window tracery may be found: Offley, in Hertfordshire; Goadby Marwood and Noseley Chapel, in Leicestershire; Charlton Scroope, Ewerby, Haydon, and Strubby, in Lincolnshire; Northampton; Bloxham, Kiddington, and St. Mary's, Woodstock, in Oxfordshire; Wickham Market, in Suffolk; Lindfield: in Sussex; Brailes, in Warwickshire; and Partington, in Yorkshire.

[2] See Bond's *Fonts and Font-covers* (illustrated), pp. 90 and 230.

[3] Compare these niches with those on the late thirteenth-century, bowl at Boxwell. See *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxxviii., p. 193 (illustrated, Pl. viii.).

[4] Bond's *Gothic Architecture in England* (illustrated), p. 476.

[5] Bond's *Introduction to English Church Architecture* (illustrated), p. 623.

were made. The moulding is found on the bases of pillars in Exeter Cathedral, built by Bishop Grandisson, 1327–69. The fourteenth-century bowl no longer exists, and the plain octagonal pedestal (Pl. v.) is probably sixteenth-century work, being of the same age as the octagonal bowl.

The fonts of the century we are now considering would be richly decorated in gold and colour, and the plain unadorned fonts at Woolaston (Pl. vi.) and at St. Mark's, Bristol (Pl. v.), would have presented a very different appearance when they were ornamented in blue, red, green, and other colours, and details picked out with gold.

It has been suggested that the tub-shaped font at Charlton Kings (Pl. iii.) may once have been a Norman bowl, cut into an octagonal shape in the fourteenth century. Unmounted bowls were not uncommon in this century, and we therefore hesitate to adopt this conjecture. It is, however, more likely that the circular font at Tarlton (Pl. vi.) might have been a circular Norman bowl ornamented with large open quatrefoil in the early part of the fourteenth century.

Niches adorn the bowls at Longney (Pl. iv.) and Whaddon (Pl. iv.), while the octagonal pedestal at Staunton (Pl. vii.) has four on each face, placed in rectangular panels. Quatrefoils are found on the bowls at Longborough (Pl. ii.), Shurdington (Pl. viii.), Staunton (Pl. vii.), and Tarlton (Pl. vi.), while the ball-flower is met with on the bowl at Longborough (Pl. ii.) and on the pedestal of the font of Tewkesbury Abbey (Pl. vii.). The ball-flower is an ornament resembling a ball placed in a globular flower, the three petals of which form a cup round it. This ornament is very characteristic of the decorated style of the fourteenth century,[1] and is specially met with in work executed during

[1] In England the ball-flower is confined largely to the reign of Edward II. (1307–27), but it is found in Early English work, and is met with in the mouldings of the arches of the thirteenth-century clerestory of Beverley Minster, and in the west front of Salisbury Cathedral. It is, however, occasionally found in Norman work, and we have already seen an example on the font at Westerleigh. See *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxxiii., p. 292 (illustrated).

the reign of Edward II. In the western counties this ornament is used in great profusion.[1] Some believe it represents the trollius, or globe-flower,[2] others that it is the horse-bell,[3] others the pomegranate,[4] and others a hawk's bell; but it is more probable that it is a survival of a very similar ornament used in Norman work[5] which was possibly imported from the East.

The bowl at Tewkesbury Abbey (Pl. vii,) is modern,[6] and replaces a circular one of no archæological value.[7] The pedestal is fourteenth-century work, dating from the reign of Edward II., and consists of a stone stem of eight attached

[1] See the central tower of Hereford Cathedral, south aisle of the nave of Gloucester Cathedral, St. Catharine's Chapel, Ledbury, the windows at Leominster, the doorway at Badgeworth, Gloucestershire, and the tower of St. David's Cathedral.

[2] See Bond's *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 83.

[3] The thong as well as the bells is sometimes depicted.

[4] Introduced possibly in compliment to Queen Eleanor of Castile.

[5] A flower resembling the ball-flower and pierced with lobes is found in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This ornament is illustrated in Viollet-le-Duc's *Architecture*, vol. ii., pp. 243–6. It was abandoned in France during the thirteenth century, and is not found in fourteenth-century work. Late examples of the use of the ball-flower in England may be seen in the porch of Worlington, Suffolk, and in the west doorway of St. Mary's, Beverley (1380).

[6] The new work dates from the restoration carried out 1875–79.

[7] The older font stood originally in the nave until 1828, when it was placed in the apsidal chapel in the south transept, where it remained until the restoration of 1875–79. Fragments of the font existing in the abbey show that the bowl was of octagonal form with a moulded rim. Each face is 1 ft. 1 in. wide, and the rim is from 8 to 10 in. The circular basin has had a diameter of 1 ft. 1½ in. On the lower portion of the bowl is carved the text, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism," Ephes. iv. 5. The octagonal plinth (1 ft. 3½ in. by 5 in.) still exists, and is preserved at the west end of the nave. It has been conjectured that another font—the bowl of which is now preserved in a garden at the back of the corner house of St. Mary's Lane—came from Tewkesbury Abbey. This bowl has been examined. It is of late date, of no archæological interest, and possibly came out of Forthampton Church at the restoration in 1848.

shafts standing on a Purbeck marble base. Between the shafts are six ball-flowers. These ball-flowers and those found in the vestry are somewhat different from others seen in the neighbourhood, as they possess "a curious little side-twist or kink."[1]

The lower portion of the pedestal at Shurdington (Pl. viii.) is a circular column with eight attached circular shafts, having bases and capitals; and it dates from the thirteenth century. For some unknown reason a new octagonal bowl was constructed during the fourteenth century, adorned with quatrefoils on the panels and foliage on the chamfer. The craftsman who designed the new bowl took the occasion to raise the earlier pedestal by adding a copy of the thirteenth-century work carved out of the same block of stone as the new bowl. The effect of a circular column possessing two tiers of attached shafts is quite unusual, and is a pleasing design.

One of the best-proportioned fourteenth-century fonts, having a rich and beautiful design, is found at Longborough (Pl. ii.). Each panel of the octagonal bowl is adorned with four quatrefoils, with centres composed of foliage, roses, or ball-flowers, while the chamfer has a well-carved leaf on each face. The pedestal is adorned with eight moulded rectangular panels, and from corner buttresses having bases, stages, and crocketed canopies, spring canopied niches richly crocketed and carrying tall finials. The plinth is high, and this splendid artistic design dates from the first quarter of the century.

The octagonal bowl at Churchdown has panelled faces containing crocketed niches, while the deep chamfer adorned with trefoil-headed niches forms the pedestal. Some forty years ago Dr. Smithe noted a projection in the thick coat of plaster in which the font had been enveloped since Puritan days. He took out his penknife, scraped away

[1] See footnote to Massé's *Tewkesbury*, p. 44.

some of the plaster, and a piece of delicate carving was revealed. The whole coating was removed, and this fine example of a fourteenth-century font was disclosed.[1]

The Instruments of the Passion were more frequently represented on the panels of the octagonal bowls of the fifteenth century than on those of the fourteenth.[2] An interesting example, however, is found at Leighterton (Pl. viii.), and it was designed in the closing years of the century. The moulded panels possess borders of ten flowers, probably intended for marguerites, while in the centre of each is a heater-shaped shield, suspended by a guige from a nail at the top of the border. These shields are charged with some of the Instruments of the Passion: (1) the seamless vest, (2) hammer and scourges (flagelli), (3) nails (four), (4) the Tau cross, (5) ladder (seven rundles), (6) spear crossed by the reed and sponge, (7) the Latin cross and crown of thorns, (8) an uncharged shield. Medieval art usually depicted the nails as three in number, one for each hand and one long spike to fix both feet where crossed. At Leighterton, however, we find four are represented (Pl. viii.) One tradition says that four nails were employed to crucify the Redeemer, this because four soldiers are mentioned, each soldier driving a nail, and so avoiding the breaking of any bones.[3] At any rate, early representations of the Crucifixion showed the feet as straight, and consequently four nails were required, one for each hand and one for each foot.[4] It is somewhat remarkable that one shield should be uncharged, seeing that the Instruments of the Passion.

[1] See *History of Churchdown*, by Wm. T. Swift (1905), illustrated.

[2] A beautiful example of a fourteenth-century font with the Instruments of the Passion carved on shields may be seen at Horbling, in Lincolnshire. It is illustrated in Simpson's *Ancient Baptismal Fonts* (1828).

[3] See Hackwood's *Christ Lore*, p. 116.

[4] The clove is said to take its shape from the nails of the cross. This unexpanded flower-bud of a Malaccan shrub undoubtedly bears a resemblance to a nail, and it derives its name from the Latin word for a nail, *clavis*, in French *clou*.

are so numerous. The font, however, would be adorned in colour, and it is therefore quite possible that one of the emblems may have been painted on it. The ladder has hooks at the top and seven rundles. The number is variously represented in art. On the poppy heads in the chancel of Cumnor Church, Berkshire, there are five, while on the rood-screen at Llanrwst Church in North Wales we find as many as ten.

In our paper on "Leaden Fonts" [1] in this county mention was made of the fourteenth-century bowl at Haresfield. [2] The decoration of this font [3] has given rise to considerable difference of opinion as to its age. The arcading seems to be unquestionably fourteenth-century work, while the buttoned vertical pillars might suggest the seventeenth. The cusping, however, indicates fourteenth-century design, and as shafts similar to those depicted on this font are found in fourteenth-century woodwork, this date was therefore adopted as the correct one. [4]

[1] See *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxxi., pp. 279, 280, also *Arch. Jour.*, vol. lxv., pp. 287 and 288.

[2] Illustrated in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxxi.; Bond's *Fonts and Font-covers*, p. 86; Weaver's *English Leadwork*, p. 15; *Arch. Jour.*, vol. lxv., p. 287. The internal diameter is 22½ in., the thickness of the rim is ½ in., and of the sides about ¼ in. The depth of the bowl is 13¾ in.

[3] This bowl is adorned with twenty-two pointed arches having cuspings. The arches rest on buttoned shafts, while round the centre and at the bottom of the bowl are bands of ornament composed of quatrefoils and triangles placed in squares.

[4] This bowl appears in some lists as being made of bell-metal. This, however, is incorrect. The churchwardens permitted a fraction of the metal to be removed, and on submitting it to chemical analysis, the fact is now established that the bowl is made of lead. Bell-metal is an alloy of tin and copper—two parts of the first and eight parts of the second. See *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxxi., p. 279.

The present font at Turkdean[1] is a replica of the fourteenth-century one, which unfortunately met with an accident during a restoration of the church. It would appear that in process of removal from the site it had occupied near the disused doorway on the south side of the church to a new position near the north door it was so seriously broken that a new font was made to replace it. When the workmen fixed the new font in position they uncovered the remains of the old drain which had served the font in bygone times. The font is octagonal in form, and the panels of the bowl are adorned with quatrefoils and geometrical patterns. Sir Stephen R. Glynne visited Turkdean on the 29th of April, 1857, and he thus writes in his notes: "The font may be Decorated; the bowl octagonal, with good panelling of varied character in which roses and stars appear. The stem octagonal."[2]

The Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A., in his volume on *Gloucestershire*,[3] states that the church at Chipping Campden possesses "an elaborate octagonal font of early Perpendicular date." Dr. Cox has been mistaken in considering that this is an ancient font, for it is of comparatively recent date, and Sir Stephen R. Glynne only mentions the octagonal Early English font when he visited this church in 1832.[4] Dr. Cox has also made an error when he classed it as a Perpendicular design, for it was copied from a Decorated pattern, and is the replica of one in St. Mary

[1] The dimensions of the present font are: *Octagonal bowl*—Diameter (interior) = 2 ft.; rim = 3½ in. to 4½ in.; depth (interior) = 9½ in. Each panel is 1 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. *Octagonal Pedestal*—Each face = 5 in. by 8 in.; deep chamfered octagonal base = 1 ft. 1 in. by 10 in.; octagonal plinth 7 in, by 1 ft. 1 in.

[2] See *Glouc. Church Notes*, p. 99.

[3] Page 86.

[4] See *Glouc. Church Notes*, p. 57: "The font has an octagonal bowl with some foliage of rather early character about it. The shaft a plain octagon."

Magdalen, Oxford,[1] carved about the year 1337, when Edward III. renewed the south aisle of that church.[2]

[1] Illustrated in Simpson's *Ancient Baptismal Fonts*, and in Bond's *Fonts and Font-covers*, p. 236. The replica at Chipping Campden has nearly the same diameter and internal depth, but it is not so high as the original font at Oxford, and consequently is not so elegant a structure. The elaborate design has been very carefully copied, with the exception that a band of foliage under the border of quatrefoils round the top of the bowl has been omitted, and a plain moulding inserted instead. This font appears to have been a fourteenth-century experiment, and the inward curve of the shaft is very unusual. It cannot be considered a success, and fortunately was not frequently repeated. The pedestal of the font at Howden, Yorkshire, is curved in a similar manner, and is also of fourteenth-century date.

[2] Wood's *Ancient and Present State of Oxford*, ed. Peshall, London, 1773, p. 224; cf. Wood, *Antiquities of the City of Oxford*, ed. A. Clark, 3 vols., Oxford, 1890, vol. ii, p. 77.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE FONTS.

(*a*) Fourteenth Century.

C=Circumference. H=Height. D=Depth. R=Rim. Diam.=Diameter. Ext.=Exterior. Int.=Interior.

	Bowl.	Pedestal.	References.	Remarks.
Ashchurch (St. Nicholas).	This octagonal shallow bowl is probably sixteenth-century work: D. Ext.=1 ft. 5 in., D. Int. =6½ in., Diam. (top)= 1 ft. 10½ in., (bottom)= 1 ft. 9 in.	The plain octagonal pillar is probably sixteenth-century work being the same age as the bowl. Each face =5¾ in. by 6¼ in. The fourteenth-century octagonal moulded base (H=9½ in., top=8 in., bottom =10¼ in.) stands on a circular platform (H =1½ in., C=8 ft. 6 in.) on a rectangular plinth (2 ft. 8½ in. by 2 ft. 8½ in. by 2¾ in.).	. . . :	The tower of Ashchurch dates from the fourteenth century, when probably the earlier font (base and plinth still existing) was made. The moulding on the fourteenth-century base of this font is found on the bases of pillars in Exeter Cathedral, built by Bishop Grandisson (1327–69.)

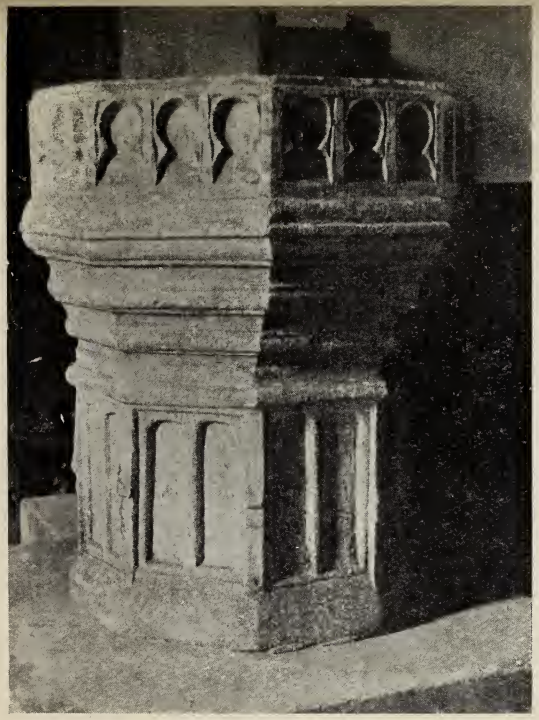
	BOWL.	PEDESTAL.	REFERENCES.	REMARKS.
BRISTOL (St. Mark). (The Lord Mayor'sChapel.)	Plain octagonal bowl with unadorned chamfer : D. Ext.=1 ft. 11 in., D. Int. =10½ in., R=5 to 6 in. Each face=1 ft. 1½ in. by 1 ft. 2½ in. by 1 ft.	Octagonal pedestal (11 in. by 8in.), chamfered octagonal plinth (5½ in. by 9 in. top by 1 ft. bottom). Modern step.	....	The font is made of Dundry stone.
CHARLTON KINGS (St. Mary).	The corners of the octagonal bowl are inserted into the uniting points of eight scallops forming the circular base : D. Ext.=1 ft. 11 in., D. Int. =11¼ in., Diam.=1 ft. 10 in., R=4 to 5½ in. The rectangular panels (1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft) are filled with window tracery, having two lights with quatrefoils and trefoils above enclosed in ogee mouldings.	This font has no pedestal and eight scallops form the base (H=10 in., C=7 ft. 11½ in.). The moulded circular plinth (H=9½ in., C=8 ft. 7 in.) rests on a modern octangular step (1 ft. 11 in. by 4 in.).	Cox and Harvey's *English Church Furniture*, p. 200.	The appearance of this font suggests the possibility of a Norman tub-shaped bowl, having been cut into the present shape in the fourteenth century,

CHURCHDOWN (St. Bartholomew).	The octangular bowl contains rectangular moulded panels (1 ft. 10½ in. by 1 ft.) decorated with shallow trefoil niches, richly adorned with crockets: D. Int.=1 ft. 2 in., R=2¾ in. to 3½ in.	The chamfer of the bowl forms the pedestal, and each face is decorated with a trefoil-headed niche placed in a panel (1 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. at top, and 8 in. at bottom). Octagonal step (1 ft. 10 in. by 9 in.).	*History of Churchdown*, by W. T. Swift (1905), illustrated.	Some fifty years ago Dr. Smithe noticed a projection in the thick coat of plaster covering this font from Puritan times. He inserted his penknife, and discovered that it was a piece of delicate carving. The plaster was removed, and this beautiful example of fourteenth-century craftsmanship was discovered.

	BOWL.	PEDESTAL.	REFERENCES.	REMARKS.
LEIGHTERTON (St. Andrew).	Octagonal bowl with moulded panels having borders of ten flowers, probably intended for marguerites. The panels contain shields suspended by guiges from nails at the top of the borders. The shields are charged with *Instruments of the Passion*, (1) seamless vest, (2) hammer and scourges (flagelli), (3) nails (four), (4) Tau cross, (5) ladder (seven rundles), (6) spear and sponge, (7) Latin cross and crown of thorns, (8) panel quite plain: D. Ext.=1 ft. 6 in., D. Int. =10 in., Diam. (top)= 1 ft. 9¾in., (bottom)= 1 ft. 8 in. The chamfer is plain and unadorned.	Plain octagonal shaft (9 in. by 8½ in.). Chamfered octagonal base (H=8 in.).	*Sketches*, by Thomas Pope, i., p. 103 (Bristol Free Library).	This font was carved in the closing years of the fourteenth century. A font at Horbling, Lincolnshire, of this century, is also represented with shields charged with the Instruments of the Passion, hung by guiges from the borders of the panels. This font shows three nails, which is the usual number depicted in art. The Leighterton font gives us the unusual number of four.

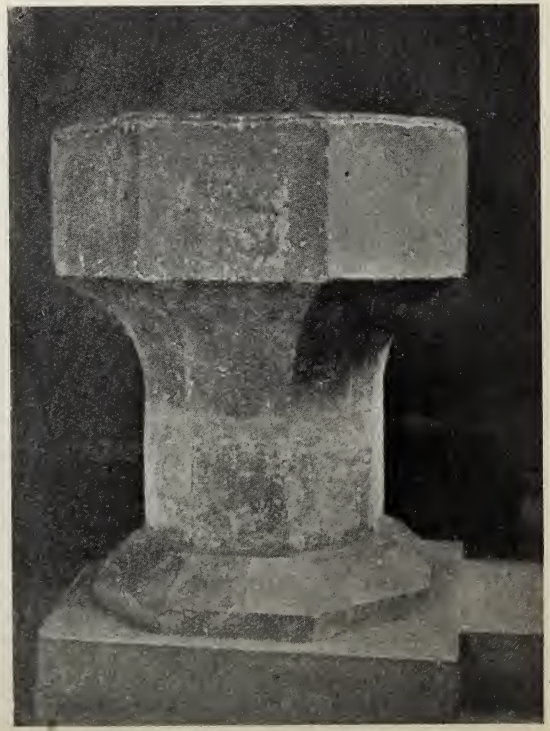
CHURCHDOWN.

CHARLTON KINGS.

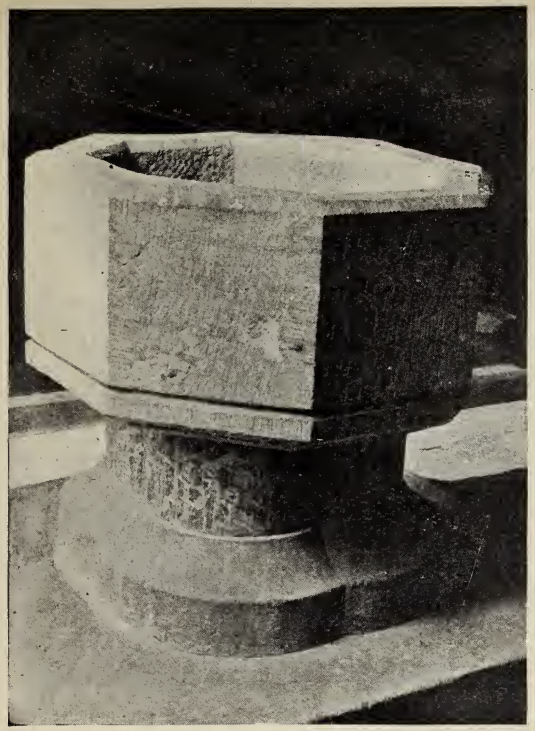


WHADDON.

LONGNEY.



ST. MARK'S, BRISTOL



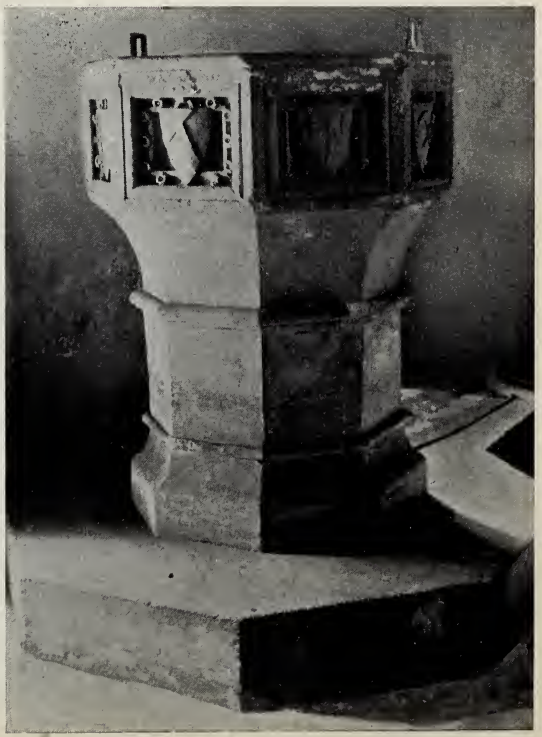
WOOLASTON.

TARLTON.

STAUNTON.

TEWKESBURY.

SHURDINGTON.



LEIGHTERTON.

LONGBOROUGH (St. James).	Octagonal bowl adorned with moulded panels (1 ft. 1½ in. by 1 ft. 0½ in.) containing four quatrefoils. The centres of eight quatrefoils are ball flowers, eight are roses, eight are marguerites, and eight are four-petal flowers. The chamfer has one large leaf carved in high relief under the centre of each panel: D. Ext.=1 ft. 8 in., D. Int.=1 ft. 1 in., Diam. =2 ft. 0½ in., R.=5 in. to 6 in.	Octagonal stem adorned with moulded rectangular panels (1 ft. 2½ in. by 4½ in.), with corner buttresses having bases, stages, and crocketed canopies. In front of each panel is a niche formed by an arch springing from the top of the stages of the corner buttresses, richly crocketed and having a tall finial. Moulded octagonal base (6 in. by 10 in.), and a plain deep octagonal plinth (11 in. by 9½ in.).	Cox's *Gloucestershire*, p. 147.	This is a very stately and most beautiful piece of work, and the arrangement of crocketed niches placed before rectangular moulded panels is most effective. Some of the quatrefoils have ball-flowers in the centres, and as this ornament was largely made use of in the reign of Edward II. (1307–1327), the font was therefore carved during the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

	BOWL.	PEDESTAL.	REFERENCES.	REMARKS.
LONGNEY (St. Lawrence).	The octagonal bowl has a moulded chamfer, and each face of the bowl is adorned with three rectangular panels (1 ft. by 6½ in.) containing trefoil-headed niches: D. Ext. =1 ft. 5 in., D. Int.= 1 ft., R=5½ in. to 7 in., Diam.=1 ft. 10 in.	The octagonal pedestal (1 ft. 6 in.) has projecting corner buttresses, and each face is adorned with a rectangular panel (1 ft. 2½ in. by 6½ in.), filled with window tracery. Four alternate faces are filled with one pattern of two trefoil-headed lights and four with another pattern of the ogee form. Octagonal plinth (11 in. by 8½ in.).	Glynne's *Glouc. Church Notes*, p. 181; Cox's *Gloucestershire*, p. 147.	The rim has been repaired in the two places where it was damaged when the staples which formerly formed part of the fastenings of the font-cover, were wrenched out.

SHURDINGTON (St. Paul).	The octagonal bowl is cracked three inches below the rim and repaired in various places. Each face is adorned with a quatrefoil (6 in. by 6½ in.) in a panel. A spray of foliage (4 in.) adorns each corner of the chamfer as well as in the centre of each face: D. Ext.=1 ft. 1 in., D. Int.=1 ft. 1¼ in., R=3¼ in. to 4 in., C (circular band round the bottom of bowl)=5 ft. 1 in.	The pedestal is divided into two tiers of eight attached circular shafts with circular bases and capitals placed round a central pillar. The upper part is carved out of the same stone as the bowl. C=(top) 5 ft. 3¾ in., (bottom)=5 ft. The lower portion is probably thirteenth-century work. C (top) =5 ft. 10½ in., (bottom) =5 ft. 8½ in. Chamfered octagonal base (1 ft. by 11 in.).	....	The font was repaired in 1852. It would appear that when the fourteenth-century bowl was constructed the craftsman took occasion to lengthen the thirteenth-century pedestal by the addition of a similar design of the same height, carved out of the same block of stone as his new bowl.

	BOWL.	PEDESTAL.	REFERENCES.	REMARKS.
STAUNTON (All Saints).	Octagonal bowl adorned with eight panels containing one quatrefoil in each (10½ in. by 11 in.). Plain chamfer: D. Ext. =1 ft. 8 in., D. Int.= 11 in., Diam.=1 ft. 7½ in., R= 5½ in. to 6½ in.	Octagonal stem (1 ft. 1 in.) with each face adorned with four panels containing shallow trefoil-headed niches. Moulded octagonal base (top=7 in., bottom=9 in., H=6 in.). Modern plinth and steps.	Glynne's *Glouc. Church Notes*, p. 67; Cox's *Gloucestershire*, p.192; Cox and Harvey's *English Church Furniture*, p. 200.	The upper row of trefoil-headed niches round the pedestal are different in design from the lower series.
TARLTON (Norman chapel in the parish of Rodmarton).	A circular bowl which has been adorned with nine quatrefoils (8 in. by 8 in.). One is an inch longer than the others, and two were mutilated when the staples for fastening the cover were wrenched out. D. Ext. =1 ft. 7 in., D. Int.= 1 ft. 1 in., R= 3 in. to 4 in., C=7 ft. 1½ in.	There is no pedestal. Round the chamfered plinth is a roll moulding. Plinth=10 in., C=5 ft. 11½ in.	....	The hamlet of Tarlton is partly in Rodmarton parish and partly in the parish of Coates. The small Norman chapel is in the former parish.

TEWKESBURY ABBEY.	Modern octagonal bowl: D. Ext.=1 ft. 5 in., D. Int.=10 in., Diam.=1 ft. 11 in., R=5 in. to 6½ in.	A fourteenth-century stem composed of eight attached shafts with Purbeck marble (modern) capitals and possessing Purbeck marble bases (4 in.) and a circular Purbeck marble plinth (H=1¾ in., C=7 ft. 0½ in.). The shell marble base dates *c.* 1235, and the pedestal *c.* 1320. Between each of the attached shafts are five ball-flowers. These ball-flowers and those in the vestry are somewhat different from others in the neighbourhood, as they possess "a curious little side-twist or kink."	Massé's *Tewkesbury*, pp. 43, 44	In 1828 the font was removed from the nave and placed in the apsidal chapel in the south transept, where it remained until the restoration of 1875–79, when the new bowl was carved, erected in the nave, and elevated two feet by placing it on four steps.

	BOWL.	PEDESTAL.	REFERENCES.	REMARKS.
WHADDON (St. Margaret).	Octagonal bowl adorned on each face with three trefoil-headed niches placed in rectangular panels: D. Ext.=1 ft. 8 in., D. of circular basin =10½ in., Diam.= 1 ft. 8 in., R=5 in. to 7 in.	The octagonal stem (1 ft. 5 in. by 9½ in.) is adorned with two plain rectangular panels on each face.	Glynne's *Glouc. Church Notes*, p. 81.	This font was probably carved in the early years of the fourteenth century. Trefoil-headed niches with thin circular form are found in the early years of this century, as well as in the closing years of the thirteenth century.
WOOLASTON (St. Andrew).	Plain octagonal bowl: D. Ext.=1 ft. 3 in., D. Int. =10¾ in., each face= 11½ in. by 11½ in., R= 4 in.	Modern marble pillar (H=6 in.) on modern stone chamfered base (H=7 in.). Modern rectangular plinth (3 ft. by 6 in.).	....	....

HEREFORDSHIRE PLACE-NAMES.

By W. ST. CLAIR BADDELEY.

Introduction.

The significance of a place-name, though no longer the mere toy of the ingenious, is not likely, it is evident, for some time to come to be free from the misleading attentions of the determined and even educated guesser. He may seem to be convinced of the correctness of the scientific conclusion as to the famous name that lies at the back of *Caer Caradoc;* but he is quite ready to seriously contest that *Oyster Hill* does not derive from the Roman General Ostorius, or that *Wych* above Malvern does not derive from the *Huiccans,* but from a Wica, dairy (or possibly, salt) farm. He will adopt and hand on any conclusions that are to his thinking *original* or *picturesque.* but what represents merely sound science and careful documentary demonstration does not really interest him. In the back of his mind fiction is always more interesting than truth. Consequently he entertains no qualms as to the historical probability of any whatsoever of the linguistic conjectures his ingenious fancy may hazard. For so far he has been unable to recognise that place-names are not merely dimly *connected* with history, but they are surely, and have been for long periods of time, a very actual portion of history. So much is this really the case, that it is owing to the great advancement of the scientific study of history in our own day that there has now resulted so rich an outcrop of works upon county and racial place-names, of which the present volume, with its betters, is a result.

This characteristic failure to perceive and rightly appreciate what are actually historic materials and what are not is nothing new. It has prevailed and manifested itself

among topographical and antiquarian writers occasionally during the last four hundred years. With regard to the subject of place-names, it shows itself clearly in Leland, where (as in *Bister alias Burgchester*, for Bicester) he will invent a form of name in order to buttress out a fictitious derivation. We find the same spirit precisely at work among the Normans of 1100 A.D. which later on converted *Sengedleag*, near Minchinhampton, to to-day's *St. Loe*, and *Stow Maries* (*Morice* family) into *Stow St. Mary*.

Instances of this kind of proceeding are to be found in every part of the country. In a county, however, such as is Herefordshire, comprising lands which were long and fearfully disputed between Goidel and Brython (who both have left their marks), and by Roman and Silurian and Brython, and also by Mercian, West Saxon, and Welsh, there are other sources of complication as to the origin of names, which demand especial caution on the part of the student of the local nomenclature. It cannot be said that they have yet received this. For instance, the rigour and effectiveness of the early British Church (of the sixth and seventh centuries and onward) is still recorded by the prevalence of places bearing the names of Welsh saints; and whatever these place-name compounds may, or might, have suffered in their struggle for victory, or at least for survival, against Saxon supplanters, they were destined to endure almost more arduous things against three hundred years of Norman feudalism.

The results are partly to be seen in such cases as the following. The *Liber Landâv* (*c.* 1130) gives the little village of *Foy* as *Lantivoi*, that is the Church of *St. Tyfai*. Already, in (*c.*) 1140, the Cartulary of Ewias Harold Priory terms the church there "*Ecclesia de Sanctæ Fidis*," *i.e.* Norman, *Foy*; (English), *St. Faith*. So *St. Tyfai* has passed into thin air, by dexterous N.-Fr. substitution, along the line of least resistance.

This form of transmutation differs (it will be noted)

from the antiquarian one previously referred to, not merely as being of an earlier date, but as belonging to the child-like Norman and monastic pleasure taken in *plays upon words*, or a ready delight in that irresponsible improvisation so characteristic of medieval writers. We may recall how the monks of Gloucester (probably under the more cultured personal influence of Lanfranc and the Norman Court there) readily turned their *Gleawan-ceaster* (which they did not understand) into *Claudio-cestre*, which they did.[1] So here, in Herefordshire, they turned the valley of the River Dore into *Aurea vallis*, and hence the modern *Golden Valley*; actually, therefore, the place is now called by the translation into English of the old Norman-French pun on the original and obscure name *Dore*.

Again, the latter river-name has been the too-ready prey of the clipper and fitter of place-names, and even into the *Liber Landâv* later (fifteenth-century) Norman writers have inserted the spellings *Dour* and *Dowr*, which should make it involve for us ancient *Dubr*, *Dofr*, from Celtic *Dubron*, a well-known river-term. But, the real name was *Dore* (as in the A.-S. Chronicle), not *Dour*, in the early Papal Registers and Charters. Similarly the Church of St. Dubricius has passed gracefully, *b* to *v*, unto the divinity of a Norman saint (who never existed), and is now called St. Devereux.

But, apart from a direct Normanisation of names, there have occurred corrupt renderings of place-names both by English and Welsh, and also rough and direct translations, such as *Bellimare*, from (W.) *Bolgros*—*Mawfield*—now but a farm in Allensmore, with a fairly English look about it. In the *Liber Landâv* it is called *Campus Malochu*; in Domesday Survey simply *Malfelle*; but the invaluable *Testa de Nevill* (1243) reading already raises our suspicion by presenting a form containing the "*c*"—*Malc-field*, and thus proving by a single letter that it represents something other than

[1] In 1166 (*Lib. Rubeus*) Osbert de Claudiocestria holds 1 Knight's Fee at Kersington, Oxon.

"*Mal*" or *Maw*. We have *Trebumfrey* for *Humfreyeston* (1292), and *Peterstowe* for *Lann Petyr* (1130), and *Cum Mouruc* (in *Cwm Meurig*)=*Moraston;* and we meet with such absurdities as *Llangrove* for *Longrove; Hentland* for *Henthlan*, or better *Henllan ; Cocsyth* for *Cockshut*.

With regard to the distribution of purely Welsh and purely English place-names in the county, it is the south-western section of it (namely, an elongated triangle formed by Whitchurch (S.), Dinedor (N.), and Hay (W.), and bounded south-west by the *Monnow* and *Dore* rivers) which evidences by the abundance of Welsh names the region where the Mercian aggression from the north-east came to a stop, even did we not possess other historical evidences that *Ewias* and *Archenfield* lay outside Saxon domination as a portion, or cantred, of the Principality of Morganwy for two and a quarter centuries after the reign of Offa.

This, of course, does not involve that British place-names do not survive sporadically in other parts of Herefordshire. For such not only do survive, but there are certain others (not including the obscurer river-names, Lynge, Lugg, Olchon, Teme, Onny, Dore, Wye, Monnow, Weythell, Pistel, Dulas), such as *Hergest, Maund, Lene, Leon, Lion, Lein, Pyon,* which probably relate to very early days, and being pre-Christian, mercifully do not represent saints or martyrs. These have, therefore, survived (at least, in their later forms) the lordship of the Maegesetan, the harrying by the Danes, and the horse-riding, castle-building Normans, and even the acrobatic vagaries of the modern Ordnance Surveyors and their informants.

Moreover, the region pertaining to both Gloucestershire and Herefordshire lying between the Forest of Dene and Wye and Severn is known to have retained Welsh influences until the mid-tenth century; and that fully accounts for the survival of such names as *Lancaute* (Llan-Cewydd), *Magor,* and *St. Briavels,* the latter not (as the writer formerly thought) Breton or French (though apparently in many of its medieval

forms influenced by the more familiar *St. Evroult*), but Welsh *St. Briafael* (*i.e.* our Breton friend *St. Brieuc*).

The Scandinavian has left few traces of his influence on the names, unless in *Yatton*, where the prefix probably means "a road," as in Symonds *Yatt*. But it may have been only A.-S. *geat*=opening, gate. The *by*, in *Ridby*, notwithstanding a deficiency of early forms, cannot be attributed to him, any more than *Tenby* on the coast, which formerly was (W.) *Dyn-bych*=small hill, while the first element *Rid* makes (W.) Rhyd=ford to be probable. As to *Heitrop*, which is not a Thorp, see under *Acrop*.

The Norman influences, however, are represented abundantly and in very various manners, namely that (1) in which a personal or family-name is added before or after the original place-name, as in Malmeshall *Lacy*, Lyde *Muchgros*, Stoke *Bleez*, and that other direct influence of naming, such as Belmont, or (2) partial modification Staundon, *Fawley* for *Falley* (A.-S. *fealwe* = fallow). The medieval forms here given throughout, as far as possible, will afford satisfactory and abundant material for illustrating Norman sound-impressions and their scribal results. Finally, these Norman influences are shown in (3) deliberate assimilative corruption, as in *Foy* (q.v.).

Thus it is manifest that each historical conquest and appropriation both in and around the area which became formed into this Shire and ancient Earldom, must have distinctly influenced its place-names.

The changes, then, which the reader will notice in the name-forms he will be able to account for to the following different sources: firstly, to old French influence and Anglo-Norman sound-substitution; secondly, to English sound-development, such as weak-stressing, giving rise to either a wasting or to a loss of actual elements; thirdly, to acoustic resemblances and ear-assimilations; fourthly, to dialectal adaptation; fifthly, to sporadic mispronunciation or alteration of consonants; and lastly, to scribal error,

obstinately perpetuated. These will fairly cover the ground.

Certain of the affixes or terminals, though not entirely peculiar to Herefordshire, are emphatically prevalent there. Chief among them are A.-S. *Hop*=valley; *Worthine, Wardine,* from A.-S. *Worthig* and *Worth*=farmstead. *Kill* occurs in both kinds, but in the terminal, where it only once appears, it cannot be the "Cella" or *Kil* of the Celts, as in Kilpec and Kilbury; but either it is a personal A.-S. name Cylla, or the noun *Cylle*=a vessel (L. *Culeus*) or wine-skin (see under *Yark-hill*), though possibly with quite another sense, such as treasure-box.

Hop, hope, manifested a tendency in the west of the county to harden into *jobb,* as in *Evenjobb* and *Burlinjobb* (N.V. Old Radnor), in both cases partly as a result of being preceded by "*ng,*" *Evinghope* (1371), *Berlelinghope* (1403). An early reading of *Hope-Miles* occurs as *Millechope,* in which the j-sound is nearly approached. Perhaps the most singular resultant of *Hope* is to be found in *Gater Top* (*Dinmore*), which moreover involves both that rare occurrence, a woman's name as owner in very early days, and that name one which does not occur in the *Onomasticon,* namely the Frankish *Gatherhildis,* as the forms given (q.v.) clearly show.

Perhaps even of more striking interest is *Woolhope.* Here the first element represents the remains of an early personal name, the individual in question involved having been the Saxon Lady *Wulfwen,* who gave *Hope* to the Church. Domesday, it is true, merely gives the name of the place as *Hope.* But the Hereford Missal records:

"Obitus *Wulvine* et *Godive* que dederunt *Hopam*" (*Hereford Missal*).

The place is referred to *c.* 1220 as *Wolbeth,* and in several later examples of the name as *Wolnith* and *Wolnet,* which points to her probable ownership of an open *heath* as well as a valley, or *Hope.* The fullest example of this

type of the name is *Wolnithehoppe* (*i.e.* Wolveneath Hope), 1334. But the struggles of this *Heath* element to survive have given rise to eccentricities of form. One, prevalent during the fourteenth century, getting round the difficulty is *Hope Wolnith*, 1312–41, and in 1483 we still meet with *Wolnethope*. Early in the twelfth century several scribes already had given up this element, and therefore wrote the name *Wolvinhope* and *Wuilvene Hope*. At last we find that both *Hæth* and the genitive element of the name *ene* have disappeared, and further the "*f*" or "*v*" of even the first element vanishes, leaving us face to face with the somewhat misleading "*Wool*."

This instance alone shows how untrustworthy are the present forms of place-names, and how hopeless is the position of even a learned guesser in such a matter. Moreover, it may be here remarked that next to guessing there is no more unfortunate or more unscientific method of place-name illustration than to drag in similar place-names from other counties on the mere random chance of their explaining the particular problem under consideration. For it is possible, and it even frequently occurs, that by the various shortening processes at work upon historic names two widely-different root-names become converted ultimately to an identical resultant form. This method is worse than useless; it is chaotic. Confusion has likewise other means of attacking the student of place-names, and so spoiling interesting work. But nothing is more certain of spoiling his work than any shortcoming in *bona-fide* research, any omission in collecting and collating the lacking early forms of a name.

To conclude: the writer, to his regret, does not always find himself in perfect accord with even local authorities (nor probably will these with him) as to the origin or derivation of certain of the names. One or two examples will suffice, he trusts, in the gentlest of justifications.

In his recent painstaking collection of Herefordshire

place-names under "*Syfervast*" my friend, Canon H. T. Bannister, gives the following account :—

"Said to be the old name of Cowarne Court, but there is no documentary evidence of this beyond the statements of eighteenth-century antiquarians."

But if we turn only to the year 1410, Roger de Cyfrewast is found holding a half-fee in Little Cowarne, and he a descendant of Robert de Cyfrewast who in 1186–7 held lands in Berkshire of the Honour of Windsor. In the Patent Rolls of 1344 and 1346, etc., Robert Sifrewast, living in Dorset, has license to crenelate his residence at Hoke. So that it is quite certain that the feudal Cyfrewast family at least temporarily transferred their curious name to Little Cowarne, and that the eighteenth-century antiquaries were well informed.

The same work includes *The Vallets*, which is there attributed to either "*Vallis*" or "*Vallum*," and is considered as a pronounced new Norman name.

It is obvious that a name which bears the definite article before it such as this, and moreover bears a plural form wherever met with, must mean some definite place, or peculiar piece of land. But was it Norman? Unfortunately for "*Vallis*" and "*Vallum*," the French language knows of no such diminutive as "*Vallett*" for "*Vallée*," and it is the rather to be conjectured that *Vallett* has nothing to do with the supposed origin, but either with the dialectal form of "*Wallet*" ("*Wallat*" in Cumberland), used to describe a corner-field; or else (as in co. Somerset) "Brushwood." In the Forest of Dene we have *Sallowvalletts*, corners of willow-trees. The Norman doesn't even look in here, therefore; nor does the French diminutive. Almost more singular is the statement under "*Eign*." This very interesting word is dismissed with the following singular note: "No one has *ventured to guess at* the meaning or origin of of this name, which still persists." Certainly no guesser would, we think, have the ghost of a chance in grappling with it. With this the author is therefore content, and lets

it go. And yet it has most successfully weathered the scribal wars of centuries as the simple, unadulterated plural of A.-S. *Eige, eigene* = isle. Hence we have at Hereford *Eign*-brook, *Eign*-mill, and *Yeyene Mullē* (1316).

It should be mentioned for the benefit of readers that the Book of Landâv has been handled in many places by fifteenth-century scribes, whose spelling of place-names does not belong to the twelfth century, or (*c.*) 1130, to which Canon Bannister attributes these. (Cf. *Abbeydore.*)

I have to acknowledge help kindly given by the Rev. Arthur W. Wade-Evans in regard to certain of the Welsh names, while at the same time rendering homage to the penetrative researches of the late Professor Anwyl, of Mr. Egerton Phillimore, Mr. Henry Alexander, and others.

List of Abbreviations.

(H.)—Hundred.
(h.)—hamlet.
(m.)—manor.
(r.)—river.
A.N.—Anglo-Norman.
A.-S.—Anglo-Saxon.
O.F.—Old French.
W.S.—West Saxon.
Da.—Danish.
M.E.—Middle English.
p.n.—personal-name.
Anc. Ch.—Ancient Charters (*Pipe Roll Series*).
Abb. Pl.—Placitorum Abbreviatio (1189–1327).
A-.S. Chr.—Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.
Br. C.—Brecon Cartulary.
Cl. R.—Close Rolls.
Ch. R.—Charter Rolls.
D.—Domesday Survey, 1086.
D.F.—Documents of France (J. H. Round).
Ep. Reg.—Episcopal Registers of Hereford.
E.H. Cart.—Cartulary of Ewias Harold Priory.
F.A.—Feudal Aids.
F.R. or Rot. Fin.—Fine Rolls.
Gl. C.—Historia et Cartularium of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester
H. Ca. Ch.—Charters of Hereford Cathedral.
H. Corp. MS.—Hereford Corporation MS.
I.P.M.—Inquisitiones post-mortem.
K.C.D.—Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus.*
Lel.—Leland's *Itinerary.*
L. B. Winch.—Landboc of Winchcombe.
L.C.—Leominster Cartulary.
L.L.—Liber Llan Dâv.
L.N.—Liber Niger (Exchequer)
N.I.—Nonarum Inquisitiones.
N.V.—Nomina Villarum (MS. 1316).
Onom.—Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum, by D. G. Searle.
O.P.—Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, edited by Henry Owen.
P. Reg.—Papal Registers.
P.R.—Patent Rolls.
P.Q.W.—Placita de Quo Warranto.
R.B.—Red Book of the Exchequer.
S.R.—Subsidy Rolls.
T.E.—Taxatio Ecclesiastica.
T.N.—Testa de Neville.
Val. Ecc.—Valor Ecclesiasticus.

Abbeydore, in Stradell, or the Golden Valley, on the river *Dore*. A Cistercian abbey founded 1120 by Robert de Ewias.

941, A.-S. Chr. *Dor; c.* 1130, *Dor* [marginalia, fifteenth century only, *Dour, Dowr*], (*L.L.*); 1235 P. Reg., *Dore*; 1291 T.E. *Dore*; 1299 I.P.M. *Dore;* fourteenth and fifteenth centuries *Dore* (Latin, *Dora*).

This river-name, however, is not phonetically derivable from C. *Dubr, Dofr* or *Dubron*, W. *Dwfr*, and it remains yet unexplained. The *Dour* form and *Dowr* are due to ingenious, or to careless, fifteenth-century scribes. That *Dwfr*=water can become *Dore* is not questioned, but that it did so already in 1140.

Aberddw (*entered* under Hereford and the Marches to-day in Radnorshire), castle and manor. 1399 *Aberdowe*, I.P.M.; 1401 *Aberdewe*; 1438 I.P.M., *Abredogh*; 1446 *Aberdogh*. W. *Aber*, confluence or mouth of the river *Edw*.

Aberhall (two miles west of Peterstow). 1418, Habrahale; 1462, *Abrahill, Abrahall, Abrahale*. In the absence of more desirable evidences we might perhaps admit a preference for M.E. *Hall*, rather than *hill* or *Hale*, as having been the original terminal here indicated, owing to the well-known family-name of the locality, *Abrahall*. *Aber* refers to the confluence near here of the Gamber and the Garren.

Aconbury (c.). *Caer rein* of early writers. (1½ mile east of Dewsall.) *c.* 1130 L.L., *Acorneburye;* 1213 Cl. R., *Akornebiri;* 1218 P.R., *Acornebury;* 1265 I.P.M (foresta de) *Cornebury*, H. Ca. Ch., 1225.

The loss of *r* before *n* occurs in the fourteenth-century forms of many names. That Acorne is an ancient river-name admits of no doubt. Cf. *Cornedene*, near Winchester; *Glos. Pl.-N.*, *Corneham*, near Stonehouse, Cornewelle (Heref.). A streamlet in the Forest of Dene and another near Berkeley bore the same name. In Cumberland (near Penrith) occurs

a house built by the Templars in the twelfth century, and called *Acornebank* (*temp.* Hen. VII.), overlooking a tributary of the Eden, at Temple-Sowerby. In the present example we may safely regard the local stream as having been known in remoter days as the *Acorne*, or by some name nearly corresponding (in Anglo-Saxon ears) to that familiar sound. Cf. *Corneford.*

Acton (**Beauchamp**). A feudal owner has here left his post-nominal distinguishing mark. A.-S. *Āc*, oak; *tūn*, farm.

Adforton, near Leintwardine. 1086 D., *Alfertintune;* 1303 I.P.M., *Alfreton;* 1321 Reg. Ep., *Atfertone*; 1370, *Hattefordone;* 1392 I.P.M., *Atforton;* 1400 I.P.M., *Atfortone;* 1468, *Atforton.* The farm (tūn) of *Æthelfred*, or of his sons.

Adley, near Brampton-Brian. 1086 D., *Adelstone, Edelactune* (J.H.R.); 1303 I.P.M., *Adelahtan;* 1524 Cott. Ch., *Adlaghton*, the farm, or ton, of *Æthel.* The second Norman form in "*lac*" (for *leh, lēge*) is quite natural, and is even fairly frequent (cf. Bever*ley*, from "Bever*lacum*"). A.-S. *leah* (meadow or clearing), latinized "*laia,*" has the dative in læge; giving later *lay* and *lagh.* Hence the resulting *Adlaghton.* The possessive *s* has here been lost, while Æthel has been reduced successively to *Adel, Ade, Ad.* The earlier Norman scribe often makes *c,*=*gh, lec*, for *legh;* here he has *lac* (ex. *Rodlec*, for *Rodley*).

Adzor, near Wellington. 1277 I.P.M., *Addeshover;* 1346 Reg. Ep., *Addesore;* 1400 I.P.M., *Haddesora;* 1428 I.P.M., *Adsore;* 1515 I.P.M., *Addesore.* A.-S. *ōfer, ōfor*, bank (cf. Ger. Ufer), M.E. *oure, ovre, ore.* The sense, therefore, is the bank, or shore, belonging to *Haddi* (not Adda, f. form) or Hadd. (Cf. *Yazor.*)

Ailey (in Eardisley, near Kinnersley Castle). Mr. Round suggests that this place represents the *Walelege* of D.S. Allowing for O.F. pronunciation, scribal transliteration, and the total absence of intermediate forms, we may be content

the meadow had an Anglo-Saxon owner. But perhaps it was *Ayley*, "parcell terræ in *Letton*," 1428 I.P.M. (q.v.).

Alac. 1086 D., "*This land is called.*" In Kingsland (*Lene*). This might be *Le Aka* of Ch. R. 1265 and 1286. L.C., *Ach.*

Alcamestune. D. (*in valle Stradelei*), J.H.R. The forms are lacking, but the sense is *Ealhelm's-ton*, or farm; in the usual, or dative, case, implying *at*.

It is not to be understood that the dative case is present in all the early records because it is prevalent in certain ones, such as Domesday Survey.

Alcox. Str.-name in Wig(ge)more. No variants.

Albodelega. *c.* 1180 D. Fr. Now *Abberley* in co. Worc. 1086 D. *Edboldlege, i.e. Eadbald's*-ley.

Aldyazdestres. 1395 Reg. Ep. By the change (natural) of the *y* to *g* and *z* to *r*, we obtain at once the meaning of this mysterious-looking name, *i.e. Æthelgeardes-tres, i.e.* trees belonging to one *Ethelgard*. The same Register later on, supplies the clue to trees "*de strewe;*" joined up correctly, the words then make **Aldyardes-trewe** (*sing.*).

Allensmore (and Aleynshulle), in Haywood. 1265 Ch. R., *Alainesmor;* 1291 T.F., *Moralyn;* N.V., *More Aleyn;* 1341 N.I., *More Alani* ("cum capella de Clehungr"); 1353 I.P.M., *Aleynesmore;* 1387 I.P.M. *Awlynsmore;* 1371, *Aleinesmore;* 1428 F.A., *Aleinesmore.* The more, or marsh, and hill, belonging to one Allen, short for Æthelwin.

Almeley. 1086 D., *Elmelie;* 1285 Ch.R., *Almelege;* 1291 T.E., *Almaly;* 1338 I.P.M., *Almali;* 1425 I.P.M., *Almaley. Æthelhelm's*-ley, or clearing.

Almundestune. 1086 D., "*in valle Stradelie.*" Farm or ton of *Aylmund*, a shortened form of *Æthelmund.*

Alt Bough
Alt Wint } (m.) Little Dewchurch.

W. *Allt* signifies a steep side, or slope (=*Clive*). The

readings of the suffixes are late, and are not to be depended on while early ones have not been found.

Alton (*Court*), (*Ross*). 1086 D., *Alwintune* ("Turstin, son of Rolf"); 1294 I.P.M. *Aylinton*, (W. Le Brey); 1228 P. *Cor.*, *Aleton*; 1337 I.P.M. *Aleton*, The significance is Æthelwyn's-farm. The possessive has been lost.

Alton (Dilwyn). H. Ca. Ch. (thirteenth century) *Aleton*; 1303 F.A., *Alleton*; 1337 I.P.M., *Aleton*; 1407, *Aleton*, *i.e.* the farm of *Ealh*, the short or *pet* form of several Anglo-Saxon personal-names.

Altrugio. 1174–86 H.Ca. Ch., for *Alkerugge*, 1234 H. Ca. Ch. The first element here must be *Ealc* for *Ealh*, to whom the ridge belonged.

Altyrynys (*ennis*), near Walterstone. W. *Allt*, slope.

Amberley (Marden, i.m.f. Moreton-on-Lugg). 1086 D., 1243 Ch. R., *Aumbresle*; 1274 I.P.M., *Ambersland*; 1291 T.E., *Ambresleye*; 1315 I.P.M., *Ambrelegh*; 1327 I.P.M., *Amberleye*; Pl. de B., *Aumburleye*.

The question which arises with this name relates to the first element. Is it, or is it not, a personal-name? The presence of the possessive "*es*" may be due in certain place-names to intrusion, and therefore be *inorganic*. Many such examples will be met with in this paper, and pointed out. In certain names this original possessive more especially tends to vanish; for instance, if it be followed by such a suffix as "*thwaite*" or "*grove*," *Thistle(s)thwaite*, *Wrocces-stan* = *Wroxtan*. But in such a name as *Ambrose*, leading to *Ambersley* or *Ambersland*, there seems to be no phonetic reason or law by which, situated between two liquids, such as *r* and *l*, the *s* of the name itself, and not really a possessive *s* at all, should drop out. It is, nevertheless, certain that in the majority of the occurrences of this prefix *Amber*, not only does the *s* not appear, even in early readings, thus leaving the plain term *Amber*, but no variants appear to account for any other name which it might

represent, such as "*Eanbeorht*," "*Æmbricht*," which have occasionally been suggested. The *fem. n. Eanburh*, leading to gen. "*Eanburge*," perhaps comes closer than any, except "*Hanburh*," which, however, is too rare an one, and besides *that* does not very easily lead to "*Amb*." Early charters certainly have not supplied so far the combinations satisfactorily supporting this suggested origin for the various "*Amberleys*" and "*Amberlands*" met with in many parts of England.

Again, if we turn to *Ambrose*, it is not a Teutonic name; and, therefore, when it does occur in a place-name it is not only rare, but it is a late importation; and it may the rather be suspected of merely parasitically influencing (by *assimilation*) the term so readily lending itself to the process, as "*amber*." This will probably account for the intrusion of the apparently possessive (*e*)*s* in certain examples of the place-name.

If, with Förstemann, we accept an *Amar* (which, by the way, does not appear in any of our Anglo-Saxon Charters), we still have to assume the intrusion of a parasitic "*b*." Consequently, until to-day, the problem remains without proper solution. In Gloucestershire alone there are and have been several "*Amber-meads*," "*Amber-acres*," and "*Amberlands*." (Cf. *Place-Names of Glos.*)

Ankerdine Hill, near Bromyard.

This has nothing to do with either hermits or *worthines*, but means Eangeard's *ham*. The Subs. R. of 1327 gives it as *Ancredham* and *Oncredam*. The *d* is a persistent element in all examples of the name.

Aramstone. 1375 I.P.M., *Aronestone*. The farm of *Arnwi*, a short form for *Earnwig*. A.-S. p.n.

Archenfield. (1) A district comprised between the Worm and the Wye, now a Decanal area, but originally a tribal *Cantref*: (2) a vill, 1½ miles from Cusop on what is called the Brook, possibly once *Ercincg*, and *Hardwick*. 915 A.D.

A.-S. Chron., *Iercingafeld, Yrcingafeld, Ircingafeldes.* But the presence of these forms under the year 915 therein does not involve that they are not of later date. 1086 D., *Arcenefelde, Archenfelde;* 1101 Gl. C., *Ierchenfeld; c.* 1130, *Erchenefelde;* 1137–38 Anc. Ch., No. 21, *Erchenefelda; Urcenevelde, Erchynfeld, Ercincg, Ergyng* (L.L.); 1138 Gl. C., *c.* 1150 B. C., *Herchenefeld;* R.B. Ex., *Hereging,* being a thirteenth-century rendering of a much earlier MS., Liber. Abb. Feversham; 1243 T.N., *Urchenefeld;* 1253 Ch. R., *Hirchinfelde;* 1257 Ch. R., *Irechenefeld;* 1291 T.E., *Irckenefeld.*

In dealing with this rather famous place-name, it may be best to present a phonetic formula, so as to establish, if possible, the important first element, leaving the simple common terminal "*feld*" (*field*) to take care of itself. It by no means follows that an owner's name precedes that terminal. We need to find, if it may be done, the probable root, which, at least in early Norman days, gave rise to *ierc,* and its many variants, *yrc, irc,* and to *Arc, arch, ierch, Herch, Urch, irch.* For all of these varieties present themselves in the forms to hand, almost embarrassing in their number.

Y and *I, initial,* in these early forms, may well represent a vanished *initial g* (or *dgh* sound), while *c* represents *k* or *ch,* consequently the actual name may have resembled *gierk* (*dghierk*), or (more likely) in view of the Domesday and later surviving (or present) vowel-sound, *gearc* (or *dgheark*). There is, however, no known Saxonic name at all corresponding to this, in spite of the apparent Anglo-Saxon patronymic that is carried with it (in the readings of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle), *inga.* This latter element (in the later forms) may be noticed undergoing the usual softening reduction into *ene* and *yn,* although these can equally well result from another *incg.*

We do not believe, however, that the imaginary sons of *Ieark* (*Dgh* or *Dj* sound) or *Icarkinga,* constituted the tribe or

folk who have given the name to a south-west district of the present shire. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle readings are copies of one another, the MS. (Cott.) Tiberius A. VI. being the more ancient of these, *c.* 977 A.D.; and we shall point out that the obscure proto-theme of the name not being Anglo-Saxon, this *inga,* or plural patronymic, can scarcely be accepted, especially in view of the early (Liber Landâv) reading in *incg* as a terminal without the Anglo-Saxon *feld.*

The region which still bears this curious name (*Archenfield*) entirely excludes the unexcavated site of *Ariconium,* the first elements of which name bear phonetically so close a relation to the non-Saxon theme, *Ieark,* or possibly *Iarik.* The Antonine *Iter* of the fourth century renders that name *Ariconio* (*dat.*). Ravennas of the seventh century unfortunately gives no name corresponding (even remotely) to this. There is no greater coincidence in the phonetic resemblances here than that between *Arcunium* and the *Erz-gebirge* range, where that other Roman *statio* was situated. It is perhaps possible that the root of all these various names was some ancient word for *ore.*

At the date of the Norman Survey the district (it may be mentioned) possessed local autonomy, observing the "customs" of the Welsh, and among these was that of compounding for a murder with the family of the slain person.

With Ystrad Ewias and Talgarth it formed a Welsh *Cantred,* under its earlier name of *Erging,* one strongly recalling the ancient name of the river Arrow, *i.e. Erge+incg,* a stream-term of unknown meaning.

When the Anglo-Saxon adjunctive terminal "*feld*" was added to *Ergyng,* the pronunciation became difficult. In order to overcome or to obviate this, the Chronicle writers converted the *incg* into Anglo-Saxon *inga.* This, however, refused to survive, and it relapsed to easier *en* and *yn,* which it still preserves. The readings of the early twelfth century Liber Landâv., especially *Ercincg* and that of

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Erging* and *Ergyng*, perhaps point to the river-term plainly enough, and permit us to disregard the *inga* forms altogether (See under Glynch).

Arkestone, near Kingston. H. Ca. Ch. (ante 1148), *Archelestune;* 1356, *Arclestone;* 1243 T.N., *Arclestun;* F.A. (1303, 1316, 1346), N.V., *Arcleston;* 1431, *Arkeston;* 1484 I.P.M., *Arkesdon* This shows that the farm or *ton* belonged to one *Earcil*, the shortened form of *Earcytel*. A -S. p.n.

Arrow (r.). 958 A.D. C.S. (No. 1040), *Erge*. Later W. *Arwy;* colloquial W. *Arw;* whence English *Arrow*.

Birch, in his notes to C.S. No. 1040, tends perilously to identify *Erge* with A.-S. *Hearge*, Harrow. We may safely leave it as being probably pre-Saxon.

Ash, near Bridstow (m.). 1086 D., *Ascis;* Gl. C. (a. 1241), *Asshe;* 1243–63 Ewias Harold Ch., *Esse;* 1300, *Asche;* 1307 I.P.M., *Assche*. The Ash, A.-S. *aesc*.

Ashminton, near Bromyard. The farm or *ton* of *Aeswine* (?). A.-S. p.n.

Ashperton (m.). 1086 D., *Spertune;* 1097 Gl. C., *Aspertone;* 1138 D. Fr., *Espreton;* 1176, *Aspertone;* 1221 Pl. C. (Glos.), *Aspertone;* 1334 I.P.M., *Apperton;* 1379 Pat. R., *Asporton;* 1428 I.P.M., *Asepton*.

The persistency of the letter *p* throughout the forms is against the probability of *Æscbeorht*, A.-S. p.n., being involved here. It is more likely that the tree *ash* (A.-S. *aesc*) gives name to this one of a multitude of Pertons (*i.e. Peritons* or *Pirtons=pyrig-tun=pear-ton* (farm), M.E. *pere* or *pirie*, *pear-tree*. (Cf. *Appleton*.) That this seemingly impossible origin is nevertheless quite a possible one is shown by the Devon example of *Ashburton*, rendered (in P. Reg., 1312) *Aysschpirton*. The sense is "the *pear-farm* by the *Ash-tree*." At the same time we should have expected the forms more definitely to have revealed the well-known variants *Assche*, *Aisshe*, etc., than they do.

Ashton, near Eye. 1086 D., *Estune* (?) J.H.R.; 1316 F.A., *Asthone;* 1431, *Assheton;* 1371 I.P.M., *Asshton juxta Leom.;* 1453 I.P.M., Assheton; 1399 I.P.M., Assheton. *The Ashtree farm.* The earlier Normans avoided *sh* as well as *th.*

Aston, *juxta Leominster.* *c.* 1310 L.C., *Esscetuna;* 1391 I.P.M., *Asshton.* Origin as above.

Aston, near Kingsland. 1086 D., *Hesintune* [Aston, J.H.R.]. (Possibly) *Aston* of 1399 I.P.M. Perhaps deriving from A.-S. p.n. *Asige,* from *Æscwig, i.e.* the farm of Æscwig or Æscwin.

Aston Ingham, near Weston-under-Peniard. 1086 D., *Estune;* 1242–43 T.N., *Estun Ingan;* 1291 T.E., *Aston;* 1428 F.A., 1316 Reg. Ep., *Astone Ingayn;* 1470 I.P.M., *A. Ingeyn.* A.-S. *east-tun.* (Cf. *Weston,* above.)

The manor here was held by *William Ingayn* de Aston (1317) and his wife, Eloise Le Archer, of Stoke Archer (Glos.). The conversion of *ayn* to *ham* is interesting.

Aston Cruze (near the last Aston). Named perhaps from a member of the Devon family, of Morchard-Cruwys.

Athelstan's Wood, near Aconbury. 1227 Cl. R., *Aystenes-wude;* 1228 Ch. R., *Eystaneswode;* 1265 Aconb. Cart., *Adhelstaneswude;* 1302 P.Q.W., *Athelstanwode.* Possibly from *Æthelstan,* Bishop of Hereford, *d.* 1056.

Avenbury. 1086 D., *Aweneburi;* R.B., *Aveberi;* 1166 L.N., *Aneberi;* 1252 Gl. Cart., *Avenebury* (W.); 1276 Reg. Ep., *Aunebury;* 1291 T.E., *Avenbur.*

Avene is a frequent reading of *Avon,* as in the Glos. *Avening,* but it is to be noted that Avan and Avenna occur as personal-names; and burial-mounds or lows frequently carry personal-names for prefixes.

Awnells, in Much Marcle, *i.e.* Avenels.

Cecilia de Mucegros was born an *Avenel,* 1300; and *William Avenel* was a king's tenant in the Forest of Dene, 1238. This

place, however, took its name later, being the fifth of a fee belonging to Thomas Avenell in 1399 (*a.* 22 Ric. II.).

Aycrops More and Quarry, near Huntington (Kington), beside the highway. *c.* 1220 H. Ca. Ch., *Acrop.* But an earlier charter of 1215 gives us the more perfect clue to the name, and we shall travel back still farther. Rocelina of the Moor gives six acres to the Cathedral of Hereford, two of which lie behind the garden of one *Heicrop,* " and two acres lying toward Huntidune *juxta aquam.*" One of the witnesses signs himself *Heitropo* de Mora, " *Heitrop* of the More." (Cf. *Roger filius Aitropi, Rot. Fin.* 1214.) The change from " *t* " to " *c* " (letters in the thirteenth century much resembling one another) was quite frequent. It occurs in 1363 I.P.M. as *Aytrope* et *Lamore.* I am inclined to identify it with " *Eutropi feodo,*" belonging in 1166 (L.N.) to the sons of *Heingann* (which bears a Scandinavian flavour), and to believe that the owner in question adroitly called himself (*Latinice*) *Eutropius* de la More. Cf. Haytrops, a farm near Dymock.

Aylstone Hill (at Hereford). 1344 P. Reg., *Aylleston ;* 1341 N.I., *Ayleston ;* 1346 F.A., *Alleston.* The ton or farm of Æthel.

Aylmeton and Parva Markeley. 1316 N.V. *Æthelhelm's* ton or farm.

Aylton (?). 1138 Anc. Ch. (No. 21), *Ailentona ; c.* 1150 Ch., *Athelyntone ;* 1341 I.P.M., *Ayleneton* (m.) ; 1364 I.P.M., *Aylynton.* The ton or farm of *Atheline* or *Æthelwyn.* A.-S. p.n.

Aymestrey, north of Kingsland (m.). 1086 D., *Elmodestreu* (A.-S. *treow,* tree); 1275 Reg. Ep., *Aylmondestria ;* 1291 T.E., *Ailmondestre ;* 1302 P.Q.W., *Aylmundestre ;* 1341 N.I. and 1399 I.P.M., *Ailmondestre. Æthelmund's-tree.*

Bacho, in Straddel. Malvern Priory is known (1376) to have owned tithe at *terra de Estradel* que vocatur *Becchen.* The terminal *o* may be a reduction of W. *wy, i.e.* Bachwy.

Bache (m.), near Clifford, Straddel valley (pronounced *Baych*). 1086 D., *Becce*. *Bæce, bache* (*a*), M.E., a valley, is a frequent f.n. in the west and south-west of England. *The Bache* at Kimbolton (Cobleton) is referred to in 1395 I.P.M. Other examples are plentiful in the county. The dat. plur. *bæcchen* gives the name to another, and not distant, spot from the above, called *Becchen* in the Malvern Cartulary. "*The Beck.*" It is connected with *beck*, a stream.

Backbury Hill, near Mordiford. 1086 D., *Bageberge*. The *beorg* or barrow of *Bacga*. A.-S. p.n.

Bacton. 1086 D., *Bachetune;* 1243 T.N., *Bakinton;* 1337 I.P.M., *Bakington;* 1341, *Baketon*. (Cf. Bache, *ante*.) Probably the "*in*," "*yn*," "*ing*" forms are for the weakened genitive of the name *Baca-an*, and are not patronymic.

Badnage (*boscus, wood*), 1305 I.P.M. Near Burghill. The one form alone forthcoming points to the terminal "*egge*," M.E. for modern "*edge*," which helps to reveal that the first element is the gen. *Badan*, of the frequent p.n. *Badda*, the stronger form of which is *Badd, es*.

Badsay. 1221 H. Ca. Ch., *Baddiscawe*. The *scaga* (*shaw*)= wood of *Badda*. A.-S. p.n.

Ballingham, seven miles south-west of Hereford. 1357 I.P.M., *Ballingham*.

This probably represents the p.n. *Bealda, i.e. Bealdanhame*. The "*ing*" may, however, be a genuine patronymic, and not the very frequent weakening of the gen. *an*, through *en*. By some it is identified with *Lann Budgualan* (L.L.) at the mouth of the Crican, on Wye.

(The) Barre (Eardisland). 1257 I.P.M., *La Barra;* 1335 Reg. Ep., *La Barre*. O.F. *barre, i.e. gate* or *barrier*.

Bartestree. 1086 D., *Bertoldestrev;* 1291 T.E., *Bertwaldestre;* 1341 N.I., *Bertwaldestr*. "At *Beorhtweald's-tree*."

Barrelhill, near Yatton. 1332 I.P.M., *Borewehull*, barrow-hill.

Barton Episcopi, or **Canons Barton,** at Hereford. 1086 D., *Bertune;* and frequently mentioned for centuries. It was a manor taking its name from a great thane's (A.-S.) *Bere-tun* or *barley-farm.*

Bartonsham. This was a tenement in old Hereford in 1290 (Gl. C.), and was known as "*Berstaneshame*" from a Saxon owner named *Beorhtstan.* 1223 Pat. R., *Berstanesham.*

Balklegh. 1227 Ch. R. (Dore Abbey).

Baynham, near Ledbury. Probably A.-S. p.n., *Beadwine('s) ham.*

Baysham, near Sellack. 1086 D., *Baissan;* 1251 H. Ca. Ch., *Baissan;* 1285 I.P.M., *Baysam;* 1291 T.E., *Baisham;* 1322, Beissyn. [1473 I.P.M., *Basehame-(yate), Baysham's cott,* a farm near Goodrich.] Entries in Episcopal Registers give *Beysham.*

It is difficult to be certain of the personal-name involved, but the oddities of the forms suggest other than an Anglo-Saxon personal-name as being represented by the prefix, possibly such a one as the Irish name *Boia, Beya, Baia, Beias,* as it is variously spelled.

Bellimare. 1316 F.A. and N.V. give *Bellimare;* 1330 Reg. Ep., *Bellymare;* 1422 I.P.M., *Bellymare.* The Liber Landav. gives the Welsh form *Bolgros.*

The terminal of this English form (which is a bare translation) is *mare,* M.E. equivalent of *moor,* W. *Rhos;* while the first element probably represents A.-S. *bylig,* M.E. *beli,* W. *bolg,* the sense having been *a bulging moor.*

Beltrou (m.), in Straddel Vale. Hugh Lasne's land. 1086 D. No other readings. The terminal probably stands for "*treow,*" tree. (Cf. *Bollitree.*)

Benefield. 1291 T.E., *Benefield. The beanfield.* A Dore Abbey charter (1217) gives the plural form *Benefeldum,* "at the *beanfields*" (*dat.*).

Bernaldune, in D. Hund. of Heztre (Hazle-tree). 1303 F.A., *Bernaldeston;* 1371 I.P.M., *Burnaldon;* 1398 I.P.M., *Bernaldon;* 1399, *Boraldon;* 1428 F.A., *Bernaldeston* (in the March of Wales). It means *Beornweald's* down.

Berrington. 1223 Br. C., *Beringtune* and *Bereton.* Certainly the farm of Bæra. A.-S. p.n.

Bickerton, near Much Marcle (m.). 1086 D., *Bicretune;* 1303 F.A., *Bykerton;* 1334 I.P.M., *Bikerton.* The absence of the possessive, which would here have probably encountered no difficulties of survival, points to some name of a tree or a stream, such as Byccer; related, possibly, to O.N. *bekkr, brook.*

Bicknor (m.). 1086 D., *Bicanofre;* *c.* 1260, *Bikenore;* 1290, *Byghenore;* 1273, *Bykenoure;* 1291 T.E., *Bykenore* "*Wallensium*" and "*Anglorum;*" 1345 P. Reg., *Bikenore, Waleissh.* The sense is *at the over, or bank, or shore,* A.-S. *Ofre* (*d*) *of Buca* or *Bicca* (A.-S. p.ns.). Welsh *Bicknor* is *Garth Benni.* (Cf. *Doward.*) *Arth, garth*=ridge; *Benni* (for *Penau*) tops.

Bigglestone. *c.* 1200, *Bigstain.* Probably *Bigweald's* stone.

Billingsley, in Holme Lacy. *Billings, i.e.* those of the House of *Bill* (not of *Billa*), a common A.-S. p.n.

Birch (Much and Little), near Dewchurch. T.N., *Birches;* 1307 I.P.M., *Birchis;* 1340 Min. Acc. Aconbery, *Muchelbirches;* 1341 N. Inq., *Byrches S. Marie;* 1443 I.P.M., *Byrches S. Thomæ.* A.-S. *Byrc,* M.E. *birche,* pl. *birches.*

Bircher. 1310 L.C., *Birchovr;* 1335 Reg. Ep., *Birchovere.* "*At the birch-bank.*"

Birley. 1086 D., *Burlei.* A pasture near the *Burh,* or fortified place.

Bishopstone. 1210–12 L.R., *Biscopstone;* 1291 T.E., *Bissopston;* 1303 F.A., *Bysshopston;* 1325 P. Reg., *Bisshopeston.* "*At the farm of the Bishop.*"

Blackmarston. 1294 Reg. Ep., *Blakemonstone;* 1400 Acon. Cart., *Blakemanston;* 1482 I.P.M., *Blakeneston* (inferior); 1538 Valor, *Blakmaston.* A.-S. p.n. *Blœcman,* later *Blackman.* (Cf. *Blakemonescroft, Glos. Pl.-N.*)

Blaenau (Michaelchurch Eskley). *Anglice, "the Blane."* Pl. of W. *Blaen,* meaning borders, edges; also extreme points of land.

Blakworthin, near Stoke Prior. *c.* 1310 L.C.

Blakemere. 1291 T.E., *Blakemar;* 1341 N.I., *Blakemere;* 1483 I.P.M., *Blakemere.* The black or dark moor. (Cf. *Glos. Pl.-N.,* p. 25.)

Blane, the (Llanvenoe) (m.). 1341 I.P.M., *Blaynleny;* 1354 I.P.M., *Blanlenye;* 1383 I.P.M., *Blenlevenny;* 1399 *Blan Levenny.* W. *Blaen,* border, or point of land.

Bodenham, near Dinmore. 1086 D., *Bodeham;* 1155 Br. C., *Bodeham;* 1199 R.O., *Bodham;* 1243 T.N., *Bodeham;* 1291 T.E., *Bodenham;* 1303, *Bodeham Fourches;* 1404 I.P.M., *Bodenham Fourches.* The home-farm of *Boda-(g)an,* weakened to *en.* A.-S. p.n.

Bollitree, near Weston-under-Penyard. Probably for *Bullan-treo;* not the tree belonging to *Bulla,* but the *Bullace-tree* (*plum*).

Boresford, near Brampton Briun.

Borewaldesleye (Capella). 1279 Reg. Ep. 1281, *Burnwarleye;* 1281, *i.e. Beorhtwealdes-ley.*

Boringwood (boscus), 1399 I.P.M. Perhaps *Burewine, i.e. Burgwine.* A.-S. p.n.

Bosbury. 1056 Flor. Worc., *Bosanbyrig;* 1086 D., *Boseberge;* G. C. 12, *Boseburia;* 1344 P. Reg., *Bosbry;* 1475 I.P.M., *Bosbury. At the fort* (*byrig*) *of Bosa-an* (*en*). A.-S. p.n.

Boulstone. 1241, Bolestone; 1294 H. Ca. Ch., *Buostone.* Uncertain origin.

Boultibrook, str.-name in Willey. 1330 Reg. Ep., *Bultibrok.* First element probably not A.-S.

Bowley, near Whitechurch. 1086 D., *Bolelei,* in Thornlow Hundred. 1357 I.P.M., *Boleye Hemme.* The pasture belonging to *Bola.*

Bradford. [William de Scohies.] 1086 D., *Bradeford;* 1257 Ch. R., *Bradeford.* At the broad ford, *Bradan-ford.*

Bradlow Hill, near Ledbury. In spite of its simple appearance, the first element may have been a personal-name, as is often the case with the prefix to a burial-mound. *(H)lawe,* d. of *(H)law.*

Bradnor, in Kington. Broad-over, A.-S. *ofer,* bank or shore.

Braynys, a house in Putley, so called in 1455. ? *Bregwins.*

Brampton Abbots and **St. Guthlac's,** in the Domesday Hundred of *Bremese.* 1086 D., *Bruntune* (m.). Both belonged to St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester.

Brampton Brian (m.), on the Salop border. (Brian family.)

Brampton, Little, near Knill (m.). 1086 D., *Bruntune* (J.H.R.).

As with all other Bromptones, the *p* is intrusive (cf. *p* in *Hampton*), and the *n* of the first element has first of all turned into *m.* The meaning is At the brown farm.

Brandon (c.). No variants. Possibly A.-S. *Brant,* steep-down.

Breadward, near Kington, for *Brad* or *Broad*-worth.

Bredenbury, or Bridenbury, near Bromyard (in *Plegeliet,* Domesday Hundred). 1086 D., *Brideneberie;* 1291 T.E., *Brydenebur;* 1380 P. Reg., *Brednebury;* 1382 I.P.M., *Bredynbury.* The bury, A.-S. *burg,* of *Bregdena,* a rare name.

Breadward(ine), near Moccas. Abundant examples give

Brede, Brade, Bred and *Brad* for the first element, showing that the meaning is *at the broad-worthy* or *farm*, or quite possibly that of Brada. A.-S. *Weorthig* (*prædium*), *homestead*. The place is called *c.* 1190 Br. C., *Bredewerdin;* in 1286 *Bradwardyn;* in 1342 I. P.M., Weston-*Bradwardyne*.

Breinton. *c.* 1252 Ch. H., *Branintone;* 1291 T.E., *Breynton, Brenton;* I.P.M., *Braynton*. This may be the farm of Bregwin (shortened from *Breguwine*). A.-S. p.n.

Brenchesowre. *c.* 1220 Br. C. Possibly *Beornic's* over=bank.

Bridge Sollers. 1086 D., *Bricge*. Two manors, one of which became the fee of the De Sollers family of Postlip, Gloucestershire, Shipton Sollers and Hope Sollers, the descendants of whom abound in the Cotteswold village of Shepscombe to this day. The same manor is called "*super Wyam*" in the Charters and 1454 I.P.M. Near it, across the river, was *Canons Sollars* (m.) or *Brugge Canon*, in Madley, 1394 I.P.M., the various bridges being of marked importance in Norman days.

Bridstow, or Stow St. Bridget, shortened into Bride, is the *Lann San freit* of Liber Landav.

Breryfeld. 1378 I.P.M., belonged to Richard Baskerville. Probably near Wylardesley.

Brierley, near Leominster. A.-S. *Brer*, M.E. *brere, briar*.

Bretlege. 1086 D. (m.).

Brilley (m.). ? Brunley (*castle* or *vill*). 1333, *Bruylle;* 1397, *Brenleo;* 1538 (Valor), *Brilley*. The Welsh name was *Pen-twyn*. Origin doubtful.

Brimfield (m.). 1086 D., *Bromefelde*; 1123 Ch. C., *Bremelfelda;* 1284 I.P.M., *Brumfeld;* 1396 I.P.M., *Brymfelde*. Perhaps merely *Brown* (M.E. Brūn) *field*. D. alone gives Brom (d.) brome, *i.e.* genista or broom. Likewise *Brumlegh* (*wood*), 1233 Cl. R. The 1123 form refers to M.E. *brembel*=bramble.

Bringsty, near Whitbourne. Probably M.E. *Brink,* d. *Brinke,* edge, border. The meaning is the path (A.-S. *stig*) at, or along, the border.

Brinsop (m.). 1086 D., *Hope ;* 1291 T.E., *Bruneshope ;* 1292 I.P.M., *Brunteshope ;* 1303 F.A., *Brunshope ;* 1372 I.P.M., *Bromsope ;* 1380 I.P.M., *Brunssop.* The Hope, or vale (A.-S. *Hop, valley*) *of Brun-*(*es*), p.n.

Brinstone. The ton, or farm, belonging to *Brun.*

Broadfield (m.), in Heztre Hundred. 1086 D., *Bradefelde ;* 1291 T.E. and F.A., *Bradefeld.* At the broad field. *Broadmedew,* 1299, was a tenure of Clifford Castle. Broadmoor, Broad-oak, Broadheath, all occur in the county.

Brobury (m.). 1086 D., *Brocheberie ;* 1243 T.N., *Brocbir ;* 1392 I.P.M., *Brokbury ;* 1485 I.P.M., *Brockebury.*

Perhaps a personal-name is pointed to by the Domesday form, and not a brook, in which case it should be The bury of *Brocca, an* weakened to *en* and *e, i.e.*

Brocheurdine (m.). 1086 D., in Straddel, *i.e. Brokeworthy.* Farm-stead by the brook.

Brockhampton. Two examples of this place-name. Home-farm by the brook. 1431 F.A., *Brokehampton.*

Brock Hill, in Colwall. 1381 I.P.M., *Brokeshull.* The hill belonging to *Broc.*

Brockmanton (m.). 1086 D., *Brochemanton ;* 1123 Ch. C. *Brocemanetune ;* 1303 F.A., *Brokmanton ;* 1346 N.V., Brokmanton. The first element was an A.-S. p.n. *Broc*= brook ; the second is a transformation of *ham.*

Brocote (m.). 1086 D. Forms are wanting.

Broms Ash. Domesday Hundred, east of Ross. 1086 D., *Bremesese, Bremesse, Bromsais, Bromesesce.* At Breme's Ashtree. (Cf. *Bremes-graf.* K.C.D., 183–186.) M.E. *Asch.*

Bromyard (m.). *c* .840 ,*Bromgearde* (Birch, C.S. No. 429) ; 1086 D., *Bromgerbe ;* 1160 G .C., H. de *Bromiard ;* 1291 T.E.,

Bromyard; 1344 Pap. Petition, *Bromierd,* 1427 *Bromiert;* 1363 I.P.M., *Bromyarde Foreyn* (*forinsecum*). Broom, the plant; *geard, garth=garden, yarde* (*d.*), as in *Peniard.*

Broxash, Ullingswick. (Hundred of *Brokkeshalse,* 1316.) 1186 Gl. C., *Brockeshes;* 1253 I.P.M., *Brockessesse;* 1382 I.P.M., *Brockesasch.* The ash-trees belonging to *Brocc.* A.-S. p.n.

Broxwood (m.), near Lymbrook. 1352 I.P.M., *Brokkeswode Power;* 1424 I.P.M., *Brokeswode* (R. Lyngen). Again, not the wood near the brook, and certainly not *Broc,* the badger (a word borrowed from British Celts); but *Brocc,* the man and owner. *Power=Poher,* the name of the feudal owner, a Breton noble. (Bret.) *Pagus Castre.*

Bryngwyn, near Dewchurch. Early forms are lacking. The prefix is W. *Bryn,* hill. *Gwyn* may mean *blessed* or *white.*

Brynifred, in Stoke Prior. (?) 1086 D., *Brudeford.*

Brynspard, between Darstone and Archenfield. In a Welsh district. W. *Bryn,* a hill. The terminal is obscure, early forms not being forthcoming.

Buckonhill, two miles north-west of Bromyard. 1376 Reg. Ep., *Bokenhulle, i.e.* the hill of *Bucca.* A.-S. p.n.

Buckley. 1279 Reg. Ep., *Bukkeley.* The meadow of one *Bucca, i.e.* Buccanleah.

Buckland. 1291 T.E., *Boclonde.* Land held by *Book* or Charter. A.-S. *Bōc.* A place-name not found in northern counties. (Cf. *Glos. Pl.-N.*)

Bucknall, in Fownhope. The terminal points to "*hale,*" though often it is spelled "*Hall.*" W.S. *Healh* (dat.) *heale;* M.E. *hale,* often confused, both in writing and parlance, with *Hall* (A.-S. *Heall,* Lat. *aula*). The sense is The meadow, or grass-nook, of *Bucca.* The original earlier forms may have been (possibly are to be found) *Buccanhale, Bokenale* (*d.*).

Buckton. 1086 D., *Buctone ;* 1294 I.P.M., *Bocton ;* 1307, *Boucton.* See *Buckland.*

Bullinghope. 1086 D., *Boniniape ;* 1276 Reg. Ep., *Bulengehope ;* 1301 L.B. Winch., *Bolynhope ;* 1320 P. Reg., *Ballynhope ;* 1341 N.I., *Bullyngeshope, superior et inferior ;* 1483 I.P.M., *Bolynhope.*

In the Domesday form *n* for *l* occurs, which is not infrequent. The 1341 form introduces the medial possessive or rather what merely looks like it. This, however, attains quite another value, if we bring the (*Quo. Warr.*) 1302 form beside it, *Bulneshope ;* and another from the Registrum Epis., 1276, *Bulengehope.* These three help us to recognise that the medial element here is not *ing*(*a*) the patronymic, but "*inge-s*" (*inch*), a once common stream-term, as in *Tweningges, Avening* (*e*). (Cf. *Glos. Pl.-N.*, p. 13.) In this case the stream or source must have been known as the *Bullinge* at some early period, before Norman days.

Bullebir. 1310 L.C. The burh or fort of one *Bolla*, A.-S. p.n.

Bunshill. 1086 D., *Bunesulle ;* 1538 Valor, *Boneshill.* Probably the meaning is The hill of *Buno.* A.-S. p.n.

Burcot (m.). *The Burcotts,* Hereford. Probably The cotes near the fort or *Burh.* 1330 I.P.M., *Kentysche Burcot ;* 1377 I.P.M., *Burcote.* Perhaps an actual settlement of Kentish folk (as at Conderton, co. Worcester) is implied by this adjunctive.

Burford, near Mathon. The Ford near the *burg* or fortified place.

Burghill. 1086 D , *Burgelle ;* 1166 L.N., *Burechulle ;* *c.* 1200 Lant. C., *Burchull ;* 1283 Ch. R., *Borughull ;* 1300 I.P.M., *Burghull ;* 1346 F.A., *Idem.* ; 1396 I.P.M., *Burghull ;* 1377 Reg. Ep., *Bourgehull.* (*K*-sound for *G.*)

There are here two types of the name, those with medial *c* and those without it. Those with it may be represented

to-day by the not infrequent name of Burchill. Nevertheless, the meaning remains identical, Burch being but another and sharper form of Burgh (A.-S. *burg*, *buruh*, fort or borough). Fort-hill. Possibly in 1332 I.P.M., *Borewehulle* (h.), *i.e.* Barrow-hill, was intended to denote this place.

Burghope, *Burhope.* 1303 F.A., *Burghope ;* 1428, *Bourghope.* A.-S. *byrig*, d. of *Burh ;* M.E. *Burgh*, d. *borowe*, castle, town, or ramparted place. *Hop*, valley.

Burley (by Bromyard). 1086 D., *Burlei ;* 1243 T.N., *Burleg ;* 1291 T.E., *Burleye ;* 1399 I.P.M., *Byurley.* Probably The meadow with the *Burh*, see above.

Burlinjobb, near Old Radnor, in Domesday Hundred of Heztre. *Berlinhope*, *Berchelincope* (J.H.R.), *Bertelinghope* (1403) ; *Berlinghefe* (1372). The Hope or valley of Beorhtwealdinga, probably shortened to *Bertelin.* [For " jobb " cf. Introduction.]

Burlton, near Burghill. 1243 T.N., *Burghelton ;* 1303 F.A., *Burwelton ;* 1431, *Burleton.* The meaning is The ton or farm of Beorhthelm.

Burnett, The, near Orcop. The terminal is the N. Fr. dim. *et*, as in *thicket.* As there are no early forms of this place-name, no more can be said. We may suspect the more likely *Barnet.*

Burrington. (Ralph de Mortimer's *Boritune*, D. 1086.) *Boritune* (*in Ulfei Hundred*). 1362 Reg. Ep., *Buritone ;* 1400 I.P.M., *Buryton* (et Fennaton) ; 1432, *Buryngton.*

The forms point to *Burred*, A.-S. p.n., shortened form of *Beorred*, for *Burgred.* The full patronymic *inga* has survived. The ton or farm-enclosure of *Burred*, therefore, is the meaning of this name.

Bury-hill. 1332 I.P.M., *Borewehull.* *Borugh*-hill. M.E. *borewe*, *burgh* (d.) *burwe*, enclosed or walled hill.

Butterley, near Edvin Ralph. 1086 D., *Buterlei*, *Butrelie ;* 1123 Cart. Leom., *Butterleya ;* 1279 Reg. Ep., *Buterleye ;* 1337

I.P.M., *Butterley;* 1353 I.P.M., *Boterley.* There occur ing no possessive element, this common personal-name means *butter-meadow* (*at the*). (Cf. *Butterworth*). A.-S. *butere.*

Butts, The. A fairly common place-name. (Cf. "*six butts of my arable land,*" thirteenth-century deed.) L. Latin *Buttos,* perhaps equivalent of "foreheads" in seventeenth-century; but sometimes the term is used to denote plough-ridges or *selions,* also small pieces of land disjoined from some adjacent arable land.

Bwch (r.), tributary of the *Honddu.*

Byfield (m.), near Clifford. 1373 I.P.M., *Byfold;* 1383, *Byfeld, i.e. Big-field.*

Byford and **Bysted** [fees held together in 1399]. 1086 D., *Buiford;* 1225 Cor. R.R., *Buiford;* 1275 Reg. Ep., *Buyford* and *Buford;* 1323 I.P.M., *Biford;* 1371 I.P.M., *Byford;* 1424, *Bysted.* Probably A.-S. *Byge:* corner.

Byton. 1086 D., *Boitune;* 1278 Reg. Ep., *Beytone;* 1281, *Bygetone;* 1291 T.E., *Buton;* 1410, *Buyton,* for *Boianton.* The meaning is the farm or *tun* of *Boiga.* A.-S. p.n.

Byletts, The, near Wapley Hill. This name may well be The Billettes, Fr. dim. for Fagots. (Cf. *Byllet shyde of woode, buchette,* Palsgrave, 1530.) Literally wood cut to size for staking or for burning. (Cf. *Valletts,* sometimes meaning faggots, also corners of land.)

Byme, Le. 1310 L.C. The A.-S. *Byme* or *beme* signifies a trumpet, which does not help us to understand the meaning of the term here.

Cae-beddow. W. *cae,* an enclosure, fenced place, field; meaning of *beddow,* uncertain ? *bedw,* birch.

Caedraen. W. *Draen,* thorn. The meaning is Thorn-close.

Caeflwyn, Ewyas Harold. *Llwyn,* a grove.

Cae-wendy, near St. Weonard's. (Doubtful.)

Cagebrook, near Eaton Bishop.

Calcheberge (*Chalkbridge*). 1086 D. This unidentified fee is nevertheless easy to analyse into *Chalkbarrow*, if its scribal form is correct.

In the thirties of the thirteenth century we have local people, for instance a Cathedral Canon of Hereford, Roger de **Calkebrigge** (cf. H. Ca. Ch., A.D. 1239), who later endows a chantry, and has for an executor Adam de **Kaukeberge.** Also in the endowment (in his honour) he is called Roger de **Kaukeberge.** These last examples identify both the spellings as pertaining to the same name, and still further they hark back to the Domesday terminal *berge*, showing that *brigge* was a mere scribal mistake.

Caldewell. 1269 I.P.M., 1283 Ch. R., *i.e. Cold-well* (d.).

Caldicott. 1227 Ch. R., *Caldicote ;* 1243 T.N., *Kaudicote ;* at the *cold cote.*

This is a frequent local name in all counties. Again, the tendency to use *K* for initial hard *C*, and to express the *al* by the O.F. *au*, as in *auld* for *old*. Coldridge, Cold-Harbour, Cold-Combe, are kindred to it. *Cawdicote* is another reading due to O.F. influence.

Callow. Where this place-name occurs instances are usually forthcoming to show that the definite article preceded it, *La* for *the, La Callowe.* This seems to bear against the reading *Cal+low* (A.-S. *hlæw*, a barrow or burial-mound), and points rather to the A.-S. adjective, *calu, calewe* (Lat. *Calvus*), bald, applied to a void or bare piece of ground. A chapelry in Much Dewchurch was *Llanfihangel Caluch* (*Colwch*).

Camdore, in Orcop. Variants lacking, but possibly *winding-stream,* as are all *Camm* rivers. Cf. *Camlas* from *Cam-glais,* crooked-brook. N.L., " This is clean *kam* " (*sic*). *Brut.*, " Merely awry."—*Coriol., iii.* i. 105.

Caplar Camp and Wood. Certainly not Capitularius (1611), or Scapula.

Caple Howe, and King's (m.). 1086 D., *Capel, Cape;* 1352 I.P.M., *Cap,* from Lat. *Capella,* chapel.

Caradoc (m.). 1243 T.N., *Craddok;* 1308 I.P.M., *Carycraddock;* 1318 Ch. R., *Kaercraddok;* 1443 I.P.M., *Carry Cradok.* Camp of *Caradog,* perhaps *Caratacos.*

Caron (a vill). 1447 I.P.M.

Carey. Probably, as above, in Cary Cradok; *Caer* (c.), camp, the equivalent of, though not derived from, *Castra.*

Cascope (nowadays five miles within co. Radnor). 1086 D. (m.) (Osbern Fitz Richard); 1303 I.P.M., *Cascop,* later *Cascob;* 1400 I.P.M., *Kascop.* The terminal is M.E. *cop,* head, summit; while the prefix possibly is the known abbreviation of Castell, as in Cas Gwyn.

Castle. *Castell.* Any kind of construction from prehistoric *caers* to Saxon *dykes* and Norman *keeps* and *baillies.* In western place-names it is sometimes abbreviated to *Cas,* as in *Cas Mael, Cascop.*

Catley, near Bosbury. 1295 I.P.M. (*juxta Up-leden*), *Catteley;* 1279, *Cateley.* A.-S. p.n. *Catta,* to whom belonged the pasture.

Cefn-baugh. *Keven baugh* (*Compot. Minist., Hen. VIII., A. Dore*).

Cefn-coed, near *Kilpeck.* 1227 Ch. R., *Kevenesquoyt.* W. *cefn,* ridge; *coed,* wood. The *s* intrusive occurs in the single early example.

Chadnor, in Dilwyn. 1086 D., *Chabenore;* 1243 T.N., *Chabbenore;* F.A., *Chabbenor;* 1395, *Chabbene;* 1402, *Chabbenore;* Toweny(r).

There is perhaps no reason for the change in modern days to the *d,* saving that it makes the word slightly easier to utter without losing the vowel-sound. *Ceabba's* bank or

shore. These rather unusual consonantal changes are notable in this county. (Cf. the *d* in Eardisland, for *l*.)

Chanston, near Vowchurch. Member of Snodhill Barony. 1243 T.E., *Cheyeston ;* 1303, 1316, 1346 F.A., *Cheyneston ;* 1338, 1355 I.P.M., *Chimestre.* The farm of Cyne, pet form of **Cyneheah.** A.-S. p.n.

Checkley, near Mordiford. 1252 Ch., *Chackileg ;* 1372 I.P.M., *Chirlich.* The forms are scarce, and one is corrupt, but the name is easy. The sense is The meadow or ley of one *Caecca,* not *Caec.*

Chickward (m.), in Elsedune Hundred, near Kington. 1086 D., *Cicuurdine, Cicwrdine.* The suffix, A.-S. *Worthig,* enclosed farm. If the prefix relates (which is doubtful) to A.-S. *Cicen,* the meaning would be *Chicken-farm.*

Chilstone (m.), (n.). Madley. 1212 R.B., *Childeston ;* 1303 F.A., *Childeston ;* 1394 I.P.M., *Childeston. Child,* A.-S. *Cild,* a titled personage (cf. *Child Roland, Harold*) ; *tun, ton,* enclosure or farm-close belonging to an official personage.

Chipelai. 1086 D. Perhaps for *Chibbenley,* A.-S. p.n. *Cibba.* Cf. *Chippinghurst,* co. Oxford, which was at Domesday Survey *Cibbaherst,* pointing to later confusion with *Cheping,* or market-place.

Chistlinghull. (*c.*) 1310 L.C.

Cholstrey (m.). 1086 D., *Cerlestreu ;* 1310 L.C., *Cherlestre.* The *Churl's* tree.

The importance of trees as particular landmarks is very marked in Herefordshire's early place-names, and they are named from kind or colour, or from their owner, as in this instance.

Churn, The. A term used throughout south-west England for a passage running between houses. In Gloucestershire it is spelt the same, but elsewhere usually *chare.*

Clater-Park, near Bromyard.

Clatretune (m.). 1086 D. Near Kington. The prefix is

apparently no A.-S. p.n. It occurs in Gloucestershire as *Clattergrove*, near Painswick, and *Clattercote*, co. Oxford, and probably does refer to *clatter*, or noise, possibly an echo, A.-S. *Clatrung*.

Clehonger. A common place-name in many shires, the variants of which sometimes drop the *h* and become *cleanger*, as this one did in the fifteenth century. The Gloucestershire example has become *Clinger*. Mr. H. W. Stevenson points out that an Anglo-Saxon variant of *hangra*, *i.e. hongra*, gave the form *honger* to some instances. The prefix represents A.-S. *clæg* (m.), *clay*. The sense is *the clay wood-slope*.

Cleve, near Ross. 1086 D., *Clive ;* 1378, *Clyffe ;* 1450 I.P.M., *Cleve*. *Clive* is the dative case of *Clif*. *Cleve* is a variant. (Cf. Bishop's-*Cleeve*, *Glos. Pl.-N.*)

Cleyswall, in Linton. 1316 N.V., *i.e. Cleys-well*.

Clifton-on-Teme. D. *Clistune*, scribal *s* for *f*. The cliff or cleeve-farm.

Clifford (cast. m. alien Priory). 1086 D., *Cliford ;* 1160, *Cliford ;* 1275, *Clifford*. Steep ford.

Clifford's Mesne. (Cf. *Glos. Pl.-N.*, p. 108.) O.F. *Mesnee*, household.

Clodok, *c.* 1130 L.L., Scti. Clitauci, perhaps the *Clethe-rock* of 1373 I.P.M. (Cf. *Clotorigos* of the famous inscribed stone at Llandysilio-yn-Nyfed.) Clydog, son of (*ap*) Clydwyn, son of Brychan Brycheiniog.

Clouds, as in co. Wilts, and near Cheltenham, "*Cleeve Cloud*." A.-S. *clud*, rock ; pl. *clūdes*. (Cf. W. *clôg*, rock.) Not *Claud* or *Clawydd*.

Cobhall, in Allensmore. 1086 D., *Cobewelle ;* 1288 I.P.M., *Cubwall ;* 1338 I.P.M., *Cobbewell ;* 1303 F.A., *Cobewall ;* N.V., *Cobewall*.

The confusion between *well* and *wall* is not unusual, and really is no confusion at all, strictly speaking, for one

A.-S. form of the word is *weall.* O. Fris. *Walla, Wallen,* v., to well up. In a part of the country where the native Welsh names have time out of mind been travestied, it is not surprising that *h* should even usurp centuries of *w,* although *h* generally is far from aggressive, and is more apt to be unconsciously "dropped."

Cocedhulle. *c.* 1174 H. Ca. Ch. ? in co. Worc. (Doddington Hundred).

Cockshot, Cockshut. A common f.n. in most counties, and needing little explanation. The bird is the conservative woodcock, which returns to the favourite shelter century after century. Small lands were held by the rendering of so many woodcocks to the lord of the manor, as court rolls evidence. The nets and "*springes to catch woodcocks*" were set in contrived alleys of the wood-eaves, where the heavy, confused birds were massacred with arrows and catapults.

Coddington (m.). 1086 D., *Cotingtune;* 1284 Reg. Ep., *Kotingtone;* 1291 T.E., *Cotinton.* The ton or farm of *Codda.*

Coedmoor, common. 1273, *Coytemor;* 1343, *Coydemor* (*boscus, woodland*). W. *coed,* wood; *mawr,* great.

Cokkelowe. L.C. Literally *Coccan-hlowe,* burial-mound of Cocca.

Coldborough, near Upton Bishop. For *Cold barrow, Calberue,* 1228 (cf. F.A., three times). The sense is *out in the cold.*

Coldridge. 1334 I.P.M., *Colrugge* and *Aston.*

Collington. 1086 D., *Collintune;* 1276 Reg. Ep., *Kolintone;* 1316 N.V. *Colynton;* 1432 I.P.M., *Colyntune.* The farm of Cola, p.n.

Colwall (m.). 1086 D., *Colewelle;* 1270 Reg. Ep., *Collewelle;* 1272 I.P.M., *Colewell;* 1291 T.E., *Colnwall;* 1344 P. Reg., *Colewall.* Here again the old form (not in any sense

a corruption) *wall* held its own long enough to prevail over *well*. The sense is "*cold-well*" (*at the*).

Conigree, Coneygar. A rabbit-warren. O.F. *Coninière* (*E.D.D.* s.v. *Conyger*).

Conope or **Konhope,** Conhope (m.). 1086 D., *Camehope;* 1243, *Kovenhop;* 1316 F.A., *Comenhope;* 1398 I.P.M., *Covenhope*. Another *Conop* occurs near Speech House, in the Forest of Dene. The first element is obscure, and probably was not A.-S. *Cofa*, a cell or chamber.

Corin (r.). A tributary of the River Leden.

Corneford (in Maund). 1225, *Corne*, probably a river-name, as in *Acorne-bury* (q.v.), *Acornebank, Corn(e)dene* (*Gl.*).

Cornleye. 1281 Reg. Ep. (see *preceding*).

Cotmore. 1260 I.P.M., *Cotesmore*.. The A.-S. mor or moor of one Cott. A.-S. p.n.

Coughton, near Walford. 1381 I.P.M., *Cokton;* 1365 P. Reg., *Cokton*, cock-farm. If these place-name forms represent the actual spot, then the corruption is unusual and misleading. But Herefordshire has already shown us some notable and permanent mis-readings of her place-names. (Cf. *Eardisland* for *Erleslene*, and *Chadnor* for *Chabbenor*.)

Courthope (and Bodenham). 1316 N.V.

Courtfield (m.).

Cowarne (m.). 1086 D., *Cuure;* 1154 *Coura* (*L.*); 1220 *Cowra* (*L.*); 1243 T.N., *Coerna* (*L.*); 1281 Ch. R., *Couerne;* 1383 I.P.M., *Cowarne*. The sense, after the 1243 form, is The cow-house. A.-S. *cu*, cow; *aern*, house (cf. *Brewerne, Mixerne, Glos. Pl.-N.*). The earliest forms all point to Cu-ofer, cow-bank.

Cradley (m.). 1086 D., *Credelaie;* 1166 L.R., *Credelei;* *c.* 1191 H. Ca. Ch., *Credelie;* 1350 Pap. Petit., *Credeleye;* 1475 I.P.M., *Cradley*. The *ley*. or clearing, of *Creda*. A.-S. p.n.

Crasswall. A not infrequent place-name, which often exemplifies the mercurial tendency of *r* to shift its position. The A.-S. *cerse*, water-cress, and the spring where the cress grows. A common variant is *Carswell*.

Credenhill. A.D. 825, *Creodan hylle ;* 1086 D., *Cradenhille, Cradenelle ;* 1272 I.P.M., *Credhul ;* 1430 I.P.M., *Cradenhull.* At the hill of Creoda. A.-S. p.n.

Criggals, The. Probably for Crugels, for W. *crugiau*, heaps.

Croft. The D.S. example (m.) was *Crofta* (*L.*) ; 1303 F.A., *Crofte.* A.-S. *croft*, (d.) *crofte*, at the croft, or small field ; a frequent terminal. (Cf. Gylderns-croft, at Marlow.)

Crose, in Hentland, or Cruze (q.v.).

Croukemore. 1377 I.P.M.

Crockeswode. 1343 I.P.M. A.-S. p.n. *Crocc.*

Cruze, near Aston-Ingham. H. de Cruce occurs *c.* 1250 H. Ca. Ch.

Cuilardvilla. 1139 Anc. Ch., 1166 L.N., *Cuilavilla* (H. de Laci) ; 1166 L.R., *Cuillaardville.* This may be the same with *Cuyrewyard* (John Mortimer's), I.P.M. a. 3 Hen. V., and *Curewyard* (m.), 1460. To-day *Great Kyre.* Origin unknown.

Cum Barruc, in the vale of the Dore. L.L.

Curl Brook (r.), a tributary of the *Arrow.*

Cussenour. (c.) 1310 L.C., *Cussehour.* Probably the *ofer* A.-S. bank, edge, belonging to one Cussa.

Cusop, near Hay. 1086 D., *Cheweshope ;* 1302 P.Q.W., *Cusop ;* 1336 P. Reg., *Kyushope ;* 1341 N.I., *Kynshop ;* 1358 I.P.M., *Knesope.* The hope or vale of *Cewine.* A.-S. p.n. (not *Swithin* nor *Cewydd*). It pertained to the king's manor, some ten miles away, in the Confessor's day. (*Kingsland.*)

Cutestorn (m.). 1086 D., *Chistestornes, Cutestornes ;* c. 1200 *Chesdestorn.* Perhaps the A.-S. p.n. *Cutswith* is involved here, but later examples are hard to find. The terminal probably represents *thorn-trees.*

Cyrdeslea. Hereford Charter, *c.* 1010. Cyred, Ceolred A.-S. p.n., owner of a pasture. This has erroneously been identified with Eardisley.

Darran. *The Darren* (Carway). 1345, *Darran.* *Dar* in Herefordshire means a stick or pole set up as a measure in a field. But though this is so, it does not help us directly to a solution of the problem involved. W. *Derwen,* oak-tree, has local probability.

Deerfold (Forest), Wigmore. 1399 I.P.M., *Derfold.* Later readings (*i.e.* 1538, *Dorwalde*) are corrupt, being the sixteenth and seventeenth-century freaks of antiquarian imitators of Leland.

Detlewell. 1310 L.C.

Dewchurch, otherwise Davy's or David's Church. L.L. gives *Lann Deui Ros Cerion.* 1297 Chanc. R., *Dowestchirch ;* Gl. C., *Deuweschirche ;* 1347 N.I., *Deweschirche, i.e.* St. David's Church.

Dewsall. 1243 T.N., *Dewyswelle,* or David's (S.) *well ;* 1302 P. Q.W., *Dewys wall.* For *wall* see *Colwall.* It is not a corruption, nor does *well* become *wall.* It is exactly the other way about.

Didley. 1086 D.,*Dodelegie ;* 1166 L.N.,*Dudeleia ;* 1219–34, *Dudele ;* 1303 F.A., *Duddeleye.* See *Duddelbury.*

Dilwyn. 1086 D., *Dilge, Diluen ;* *c.* 1150, *Diliga ;* 1138 Anc. Ch. (J.H.R.), *Dilun ;* 1281 Ch. R., *Dilowe* and *Dilun ;* 1296 I.P.M., *Dilewe.* Later, *Dyllewyn, Dillewyn.*

The possession of separate properties here gave rise now to *Solers Dylewe* (Ch. R., 1334) and *Little Dylewe* or *Mucherdylow,* the *Lytyldilwe* of 1380 I.P.M. and of 1485 *Dillewyne.*

The difficulty as to the proper shape of this obscure name presented itself seven hundred years back. The last element of it became gradually shaped into *low,* so as to seem comprehensible, even if it was not so. Truth, however, reasserted itself, but determined that a p.n. *Dilla* was intended

by the first element. But, even if that were to be admitted, *un*, *wen*, and *wyn* are not Anglo-Saxon suffixes to place-names, though they do occur in certain British ones, such as Colwyn. The second 1086 form favours W. Dyle + gwaen, croft in the plain (*dyle*, variant of *tyle*).

Dingwood, at Ledbury, formerly *Dunningewode*. Here the stream-term *inge*, *incg* discloses itself, and we may conclude that *Dunnincge* was its name. (Cf. *Dynningden*.) The first element may be the p.n. *Dunn*.

Dinmore. (Preceptory of the Templars.) 1243 T.N. and many repetitions in charters give *Dunemore* and *Dinnemor*. The probabilities favour a Celtic origin for the entire name, *Dun-Mawr*, the great hill.

Diston (m.) (Brian de Bromptons). 1305 I.P.M. [Variants lacking].

Docklow. 1291 T.E., *Dockelawe* (Capella); 1316 F.A., *Doclue* or *Doccanhlewe*. Barrow or Low of *Docca*. A.-S. p.n.

Dodintre(t) Hundred. 1086, *Dudantre*, tree belonging to the land that is, or was, that of *Duda*. A.-S. p.n.

Dodenhull. *c.* 1173 H. Ca. Ch. Hill of *Doda*.

Dolmeduwe. 1274 I.P.M. Probably a cross-breed place-name. W. *dôl*, a meadow. Though naturally uncommon, so-called hybrids do occur, as is inevitable where, as in the place-name *Avening*, the first element is certainly British and the adjunct is Anglo-Saxon.

Donnington, in Archenfield. 1086 D., *Dunninctune*; 1163, *Dunitune*; 1286 I.P.M., *Doniñton*; 1381 I.P.M., *Donyton*. The farm of the descendants of *Dunna*. A.-S. p.n.

Dore (r.). Tributary of the Monnow. A.D. 941 A.-S. Chr. *Dor*; 1300 I.P.M., *Dore*. (See under *Abbey-Dore*.)

Dormington. 1284 Anc. Ch., *Dormyntone*; 1291 T.E., *Dormiton* in Berwaldstret; 1341 N.I., *Dormyton* et Bertwaldestr(et). The farm of Deorm*an*, softened to *yn*, tending thus to the pseudo-patronymic.

Dorstone Castle, Manor of the Honour of Clifford. 1086 D., *Torchestone;* 1243 T.N., *Dorsinton;* 1303 F.A., *Dorsynton;* 1379 P.R., stone.

The D. form here does not count, the other forms preserve sufficient sameness to assure us that the farm belonged to *Deorsige*, shortened *Deorsi*, a well-known A.-S. p.n. But the D. form at least has handed down to us the strong genitive in *es* of *Deorsig*. The sound-effect of *ig* has easily succumbed to the patronymic tendency and resulted in *yn*.

Doward. "Lytle *Dowarth* wod," 1414. W. *garth*, ridge. The meaning is *dâu*, two ridges, great and small (?). *Deu-arth*. (Cf. Cont. Fr., *deus*, which gave our "*deuce*.")

Downton. A.-S. *dun*, *down*. 1086 D., *Duntune;* 1303 F.A., *Dounton;* 1373 I.P.M., *Dounton*. The sense needs no demonstration.

Draycote. 1334 Ch. R., *Draycote;* 1355 I.P.M., *Draycothe*. According to Skeat, not A.-S. *drege*, *dryge;* M.E. *drie*, *drege;* but from A.-S. *dræg*, retreat or hiding-place.

Drayton. 1310, *Dreitune*, *Dry-ton* (cf. *Dryden*). (Cf. a squirrel's *dray*.) Same; perhaps meaning Lonely farm.

Duddelbury. 1237-94 H. Ca. Ch., *Dedelbury;* 1246 H. Ca. Ch., *Dudelbiri*.

Both these place-names refer to the ownership of Dudda, a very ordinary or far-spread A.-S. p.n., which has parted with all its vocable dignity by adopting its modern form of "*Diddlebury*" and "*Didley*."

Dulas or **Dewlas** (r.). *c.* 1250 E. H. Ct., *Duneleis;* 1327 Ch. R., *Dyveleis;* 1399 I.P.M., *Dynas*. Falls into the Dore at Pontrilas. The terminal is sometimes read for *glais*, rivulet. The meaning may be Blackwater (W. *Dunos*, dark).

Dulingwode. 1278 Reg. Ep., 1344 P. Reg., *Donngewode*. The park of the Bishop of Hereford. See under *Dingwood*.

Dunre or **Dyndor.** 1086 D., *Dunre;* 1291 T.E., *Dunre;*

1341 N.I., *Dunre ;* 1343 I.P.M., *idem ;* 1395, *Duyndre ;* 1538 Valor, *Dyndor.* The meaning is W. *dwn,* brown + *er,* fallow-ground.

The uniformity of the readings contrasts with the Tudor twistings in Leland and some other writers, due to the recrudescence of such aggressive yet playful antiquarianism as with the adroit monks of Norman Gloucester forced *Gleauancestre* into *Claudiocester.* It is close kindred not to the science of etymology, but the craft of punning.

Dustelec. 1310 L.C., for Dusteley. Dister (r.), co. Mon. L.L., now *Distil.* *c=gh.*

Dyffryn. W., valley or dale.

Eardisland (m.) or Nunsland (cf. Monksland). It belonged to *Lyre,* in Normandy. A.D. 958 (1040 C.S., *Leonhiena gemæres* and *Lionhina*). **King's** Lene. 1086 D., *Lene* (in Heztre Hundred). **Monks**lene. Type 1 : 1276, *Erleslene ;* 1278 Reg. Ep., *Erleslone ;* 1284 I.P.M., *Erleslane ;* 1291 T.E., *Erleslene ;* 1302 P.Q.W., *Erleslone ;* 1399 I.P.M., *Eorleslane.* Type 2 : 1243 T.N., *Urselane ;* 1303 F.A., *Erslon, Erselone, Erslane ;* 1311 I.P.M. (?), *Leyne ;* 1341 N.I., *Erslone.* Type 3 : 1280 Cl. R., *Erleslen ;* 1233 Cl. R., *Erleslan.*

This name consists manifestly of the D.S. form *Lene* (for earlier *Leone*), to which has been prefixed the A.-S. *Eorl.* Leaving that prefix and its later corrupted and permanent form *Eard* (*d* for *l*), the transmutations into *lane* and *lone* are not unnatural. A.-S. *lane,* M.E. *lone,* a lane (pl. *lonès* and *lanes*). Also compare the similar variants of A.-S. *Læn* and *Leon,* O.H.G. *Lehan,* Anglicised *Loan.* The interest lies in the obscure significance here of *Lene.* The name scarcely appears again in this simple form for a century and a half (1311 I.P.M.) in reference to this manor.

Fortunately, whatever may have been the meaning attached to it, it is the root-name of at least three D.S. manors lying apart as much as nine miles from the first

(Monkland) to Eardisland (three miles) to Lyonshall, the last, and these are all interconnected by the curving westward course of the River Arrow. In addition to these must be embraced *Kingsland* (three miles) north-east of *Eardisland* towards the River *Lugg*. Consequently *Lene* or *Leon* represents a district, and not an isolated manor or vill, and its origin need not be expected in the A.-S. dictionaries.

We may, therefore, bring together *Monkland* (D. *Leine*), *Kingsland* (D. *Lene*), *Eardisland* (D. *Lene*), and *Lyonshall* (D. *Lenehalle*). The last but one of these appears a hundred and twenty-eight years previous to Domesday, in the Cartularium Saxonicum, No. 1040 (A.D. 958) as *Leonhiena, Lionhina;* whence we perceive how *Leine* and *Lene* are reduced forms, for the Charter peculiarly gives both forms (q.v. above) of the name, to which is added *Hienas* for *eigene*, pl. of A.-S. *eige* (see under *Eign*), island or marsh land.

Leon as a form, then, is not a corruption, but is evidently nearest to the original word or name among them all. Moreover, in the fourteenth-century forms of *Leonhales* (*Lyon*(*s*)*hall*, cf. F.A. and N.I.), the ancient original shows its face again. It is, therefore, likely to be worthy of consideration that in one of the most purely Celtic of the departments of North Brittany, Finisterre, we find the name *Leon* applied to a well-known cantonal district, to the units of which tradition has applied the term *Leuns* and *Liuns*, to-day *Leonois* and *Leonais*. A considerable district, probably in old time a tribal one, in co. Carnarvon, bears the name *Lleyn*, is to-day called *Llyn*. Perhaps both of these are connected with *water*, though by no means identical.

Eardisley. 1086 D., *Herdesleye;* T.E., *Erdesleye;* 1341 N.I., *Erdesley;* 1374 I.P.M., *Erdeslegh;* 1485, *Erdisleye*. Probably *Eard's-ley*, short form of *Eardweard*, *Eardred*.

Eastnor, near Ledbury. 1086 D., *Astenofre;* 1166 R.B., *Estnover;* 1291 T.E., *Estenor*, etc. Probably M.E. *Easten*, adv. Eastward; *over*, *ovre* (d.), edge or bank. (A.-S. *ora*.)

Eaton Bishop. 1086 D., *Etune.* Ea (*Aqua*), A.-S. *Ea*, water, river. Farm beside the stream.

Eaton Hill. 1086 D., *Estune*, near Leominster. This should if D. form be correct, be an *Easton* or *Aston*, but the probabilities are (as usual) in Mr. J. H. Round's favour. The meaning is the same as in the last instance.

Eccleswall. 1272 I.P.M., *Eggleswale;* 1302 P.Q.W., *Eccleswale.* Probably Ecghild's well, from M.E. *walle*, well.

Edven Loach and **E. Ralph.** (*Edwinrafe* of Saxton's Map, 1577.) 1086 D., *Gedeven. Yeddefen* (held at half a fee by John de Loges), 1211. 1123 Ch. Conf., *Gedesfenna;* 1212 R.B., *Yadefen* Seldeslega (co. Wigorn) (Robert de Mortimers); 1243 T.N., *Yedefen;* 1291 T.E., *Yeddefenne* Radh, and *Zedefenne* Loges; 1308 I.P.M., *Yeddefend* Loses; 1316 N.V., *Yeddevyn;* 1387 Pat. R., *Jeddefen.* The terminal is A.-S. *fenn, fen*, and probably the prefix represents the A.-S. p.n. *Geddi.* The fen belonging to *Geddi.* (Cf. David de Edevy.)

Eggleton. 1210–12 R.B., *Eglingtone;* 1219 H. Ca. Ch., *Eglintune;* 1263 Ch., *Eglutton;* 1380 I.P.M., *Egilton. The farm of the sons of Aegel.* A.-S. p.n.

Eign, near Hereford. This unadulterated plural of A.-S. *eige, eigene*, island, seems to have weathered most successfully the scribal struggles of seven centuries. For the form cf. Add. Charter 19, 793, A.D. 969, "*fotes eige.*" Hence we have in Hereford Eign-brook, Eign-mill, etc. 1219 H. Ca. Ch., *Highen;* 1223 Pat. R., *Igene;* 1297 *Syene;* 1258 H. Ca. Ch., *Ugina;* 1271 Ch. R., *Ighene;* 1316 Reg. Ep., *Yeyene* Mulle; 1538 Valor, *Yeyne.*

Eilildehope. Eilildi's hope. 1144 D. Fr., *Haillilda Hope* (*i.e* Longhope, Gloucestershire), *Eiel-hild* for *Æthelhild.* Gerald's *St. Ælived.*

Elburgelega (m.). 1086 D., the *ley* of Æthelburga.

Elmoresend, *Æthelmæres-end.*

Elm Bridge. 1307–27 I.P.M., *Elme-rigge, rugge*=ridge.

Elnodestune (m.), in Straddel. *Æthelnoth's-tun* or farm. A.-S. p.n. 1086 D. Perhaps the *Elston* of 1274 I.P.M.

Elsdon, west of Lyonshall. D. *Elsdune.* The prefix is doubtless for A.-S. p.n. *Ælle.* (Cf. Ællesburne, *Onom.*)

Elston. 1274 I.P.M.

Elton (m.). 1086 D., *Elintune;* 1303 I.P.M., *Eleton;* 1332 I.P.M., *Elleton.* The sense is The ton or farm of *Ælfwin.* A.-S. p.n.

Elvael. 1236 L.R., *Haleval, Elevein, Eleveyn, Elvain;* 1231 A.R., *Elvael;* 1401–40 I.P.M., *Elvelle;* 1446 I.P.M., *Elvele.*

This district, of which but the fringe concerns Herefordshire to-day, was bounded by the Wye between Whitney and Builth. North of it stretched Macelienydd (anglicized *Melennith*), including Knighton.

Elvastone, in Peterstow. 1441 I.P.M., *Evaston* [and Peterstowe]; 1443 I.P.M., *Evaston.* There is a separate entry for Iverston (another place altogether) in this I.P.M., so that they are not related in any way, topographically or phonetically. The significance is The farm of *Ælfheah.* A.-S. p.n.

Elvithedune. *c.* 1310 L.C. Probably The down belonging to *Ælwytha.* A.-S. p.n.

Elwistone. 1086 D., *Helvistone* wood, in Harewood (J.H.R.); 1251 Ch. R., *Elstaneswud* and *Harewod. Ælfwig's* tun, or farm.

Erdishope (m.). 1243 T.N., Erdishop; 1341 I.P.M., Erdeshope. The valley of Eardred. A.-S. p.n. (See *Yarsop.*)

Eskley (r.), flowing into the Monnow. The terminal *ley,* probably for W. *Lyn.*

Eton Tregoz (m.). The family of Tregoz (probably Bretons) were great benefactors to St. Peter's, Gloucester. One of them gave the isle of Steepholm to Studley, in

Warwickshire. 1086 D., *Edtune;* 1100 Gl. C., *Etuna* (l.); 1222 Gl. C., *Ettone;* 1316 F.A., *Eton Tregos;* 1394 I.P.M., *Eton;* 1373 I.P.M., *Eton juxta Lemynster.* This, of course, is another Eton. The D. form and the 1222 form point to remains of some short name of an owner, perhaps female, *Ætte.* If otherwise, *Ea,* stream.

Everstone, near Earlsland. 1280.

Evesbatch. 1086 D., *Sbech.* All the respectable forms give *Esebach-e* or *Estbache* (N.V.). The prefix *Ese* may possibly represent a person's name, *Esa.* M.E. *bæch* (d.), *bache,* a valley, probably applied to very small vales. The *t* is common, but intrusive, as in the place-name *Vatch* for *Vache,* cow-house.

Evinghope. 1371 I.P.M. *Ewinghope* (et Aston), now *Evenjobb.* 1399 I.P.M. (co. Radnor). The *hope* or valley belonging to *Cefwine.*

Ewithynton, in Withington. *Eau-Withington,* 1277. *Ea,* the river; Normanised *eau,* water.

Ewyas Harold (Earl Harold) and **E. Lacy** (Walter de Laci, d. 1080). Two lordships. 1086 D., *Ewias; c.* 1130 L.L., *Euwias, Eugias;* 1166 L.R., *Weias, Eweias;* 1166 L.N., *Wias;* 1472 P. Reg., *Euyas;* 1250, *Ewigas;* 1303 F.A., *Euiwias Harraud* (N.F. for Harold, Earl Harold). Welsh name, *Map Harallt* (*Leland*). *Ewyas* was a territorial name applying to the south-western angle of Herefordshire, Ewyas Harold being its head-centre. Origin unknown.

Eye. Eya, Eie, A.-S. *ieg,* (dat.) *eiam.* M.E. *eie, ey.* Anglian *Eg,* islet or marsh-land.

Eylston. 1274, *Elston;* 1300 I.P.M., Tenants (cf. *Hist. E. Har.,* p. 116), Henry and Denis de; 1194 E.H.C., *Helyston;* 1286 E.H.C., *Heliston.* Possibly *Ælfheah* or *Ælfwig* was the owner.

Eyton (m.). 1086 D. Above Bradford. The prefix is the same with the last name. *Eye,* A.-S. *ieg.*

Falle (m.). 1303–46 F.A., *Falle;* 1316 N.V., *Falleye;* 1345 P. Reg., 1431 F.A., *Falley.* Probably *fealw,* dative of A.-S. *fealu,* fallow. (Cf. Friesic, *falge.*)

Fannecourte (Baskerville). 1158 D.F., *Fanencort;* 1195 Rot. Fin. *Fanecourt;* 1345. A *Fanesgrove* occurs (1469) in *Mowerdyne* (*Maurdyn,* Marden). Probably from A.-S. *Fenn,* fen.

Fawley (m.). 1166 L.N., *Felileie;* 1166 L.R., *Felilege;* 1291 T.E., *Falyleye;* 1316 F.A., *Fallaye;* 1338 I.P.M., *Falleye.* The meaning is Fallow-lea. (Cf. Falle.)

Felindre, *i.e.* mill-house. *Dre* or *tre,* as in Hendre. W. *Melin,* a mill (F=M by mutation.)

Felton (m.), near Ullingswick. 1086 D., *Feltone;* 1291 T.E., *Felton.* The farm in the field. A common place-name. (Cf. *Felden* for *Fielden,* A.-S. *feld.*)

Fencote (m.). 1086 D., *Fencote, Fancote,* L.C.

Fenhampton. 1334 I.P.M., *Fenton;* 1399 I.P.M., *Fenneton;* 1372 I.P.M., *Fenaunton;* 1425 I.P.M., *Fennantone;* 1433 I.P.M., *Fenmantone.* The development into "*ham*" is interesting from rather unpromising elements. The forms are late, and the origin of the medial element is the d. plural of A.-S. *Fenn.* The farm at the fens (d. pl. *Fennum*).

Fern The (m.). 1086 D., *Ferne* (in Tornelaus Hundred); Br. C., twelfth century, *Ferna;* 1204 Rot. Fin., *La Ferna;* 1291 T.E., *La Ferne;* 1387 I.P.M., *Verne* (m.). The place must have abounded in some particular fern. M.E. *fearn,* (d.) *ferne.* See next name.

Fernhale. 1086 D., *Fernehalle.*

Fernley, Farley, Fernhurst are names that remind us of localities named from the abundance of the plant. Here the term intended is M.E. *hale* for A.-S. *healh,* a corner, meadow or pasture, not as the Domesday form has it, dative of *heall, halle, hall,* L. *aula.* The older name of the district around Hereford, Mr. Egerton Phillimore suggests, was Fernley.

An I.P.M. a. 7 Hen. VI. gives the county a *Farlowe, i.e. Fernlowe,* probably *ley* is intended, for *lowe* is often substituted in this calendar by the scribe for *lega.* In a charter of A.D. 972 we have *on fearn-healas.*

Fernlega (or *Fernley*) is a name which Gerald of Wales gives (*Vita S. Æthelberti*) as an early name for Hereford.

Flanesford (Priory, 1343 P. Reg.), near Goodrich, towards Courtfield. No variant forms help to point the anyhow rare personal-name, if such be at the origin. It may be a translation of Rhyd-y-lann, or the Church-ford.

Flann, near Peterstow. This has probably been Anglicised from W. *Llann,* church. (*Descript. Pembr.,* pt. i. 415, note 74.) (Cf. *Floyd* for *Lloyd.*)

Flintesham, on Arrow. 1281 Reg. Ep. Flint was not an A.-S. p.n., hence the name here of an owner must have been reduced to this form. It may have been *Fieelnith-es.*

Flitgate. 1310 L.C. (?) *Fleot-yate,* flood-gate. A.-S. *fleot,* a shallow stream.

Flutesmede. 1310 L.C. (?) A.-S. *Fleot,* fleet, stream "S" may be inorganic, or the p.n. of Flood may have commenced.

Flytenetone. Reg. Ep., 1278.

Folkeia. 1310 L.C. *Eia* (Latinised), *eie,* from A.-S. *Eg,* island; *Folc,* people.

Folly, The. *La Folie* occurs often in records of the fifteenth century as an estate-name in the county, and dates from late Norman days.

Ford (m.). The Domesday scribe misspells the name: *Forne.* 1243 T.N., *Forda;* 1390 I.P.M., *Forda.*

Formine Hill, near Dorstone. 1274 I.P.M., *Fromynton, i.e.* Fromund's or Frodmund's *ton* or farm. The mercurial liquid "*r*" has simply shifted its position.

Fowlett. The terminal here is probably for *yett,* gate.

Fownhope. 1086 D., *Hope;* 1243 T.N., *Fanne hope;* 1269 H. Ca. Ch., *Fawehope;* 1278 Reg. Ep., *Fonhope* (*n* for *u*); 1272 I.P.M., *La Fowehope;* 1291 T.E., *Fonhop*: *Fowehope* (*n* for *u*); 1303 F.A., *Fowehope;* 1316 N.V., *Ffowneshope* (poss. *es*); 1335 P. Reg., *Fouhope;* 1345 P. Reg., *Fonghope* (*n* for *u*, and excrescent *g*); 1359 Pap. Pet., *Fowhope;* 1364 I.P.M., *Vowhope;* *c.* 1430, *Fawnchope* (the later lords made their title *Fan*hope); 1483 I.P.M., *Fawnehope.*

Whatever was the intention of the prefix, it was a puzzle to the Norman scribe and to his successors. The Domesday writer leaves it alone severely. The later scribes apprehend the vowel-sound as Fà, Faw, Fon, and Fow. It is, needless to say, not Anglo-Saxon, and may be identical with the terminal in Dunfowe, 1334 (Marches of Wales), or with W. *ffau*, a cave. Nevertheless, the forms *Fonghope* and *Fawnchope* give suggestions of other kinds, while *Ffownes hope* points to a personal-name of *ffownes*, though the *s* is probably an intrusion.

Foxgate. 1395 I.P.M., *Foxzate;* 1428, *Folkesyate, i.e.* Folkesgate. A.-S. *Folc*, p.n.

Foy. *c.* 1130 L.L., *Lantivoi;* 1196 Gl. C., Ecclesia *St. Foe de Ethone;* 1203, *Foa* (L); 1291 T.E., E. de *Foye;* 1341 N.I., *Foye.* Apparently the Norman has, by assimilation, evolved St. *Foi* out of the Cambrian St. *Tyfai, Sain*[*te foi*], and doubtless he enjoyed his ingenuity.

Frith. M.E. for A.-S. *frith*, a game-preserve, *deor-frith.* A common wood-name in the adjacent eastward counties, and occasionally known as *vrith* and *vreeth*, and sometimes transformed *Faith, The Faith-wood.*

Frome (r.). A.D. 840 (C.S. No. 429), *From;* 1086 D., *Frome;* 1138 A.C., *Froma.*

This is one of many rivers bearing the name, which has given itself to families and districts as well as to castles and manors. Sometimes its vowel-sound is interpreted $\overline{oo}$, at

other places as *ō*; again it is called *Frame* and *Fream*, and *Fràm*. Its consonant and liquids do not change, except in certain counties, where "*F*" becomes "*V*." 1316 N.V., *Froma Heymundi*.

Froggeswell. *c.* 1310 L.C. M.E. *frogge*, a frog.

Futgare. *c.* 1189 H. Ca. Ch., near Dinmore.

Gaines, near Whitbourne. 1291 H. Ca. Ch., *Gynes*.

Gamage. From the De Gamage family (large possessors in Western Gloucestershire and elsewhere in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), from *Gamaches* (Dept. *Eure*), France.

Gamber (r.). Variously vocalised in the L.L. *Amir*, *Amyr*, and *Hum(b)ier*. *Amirmur* (cf. Nennius, *Stevenson* ed., f. 73).

Ganarew. Two miles from Monmouth. 1186 D.F. *Guenerui*; 1291 T.E., *Generu*, *Gonore*; 1341 N.I., *Genorew*; 1345 Reg. Ep., *Generiew*. Probably the terminal, at least, is to be glossed: W. *rhiw*, slope, ascent; (pl.)-*iau*. The first element is obscure.

Gannowe, "in Homme Laci." 1343 I.P.M. Another *Gannowe* occurs near Inkberrow, co. Worcester.

Garn, The. The Garden. Cf. (D.D.) Scottish, *gairn*.

Garnestone. 1269 H. Ca. Ch., *Garistone*; 1334 Reg. Ep., *Gernestone*; 1399 I.P.M., *Gernaston*; 1357 I.P.M., *Gerneston*; 1372 I.P.M., *Gervaston*; 1425 I.P.M., *Germaston*. The ton or farm of Garnwi or Gern.

Garran (r.). Tributary of the Wye.

Garway. L.L., *Lannguoronoi*. 1138, *Landa de Garou* (J.H.R.), Anc. Ch. 36; 1199 Ch. R., *Langarewi*; 1227 Ch. R., *Garewi*; 1316 F.A., *Garewy*; N.V., *Garewey*; 1428 F.A., *Gareway*.

The Cornish example is spelled *Garowe*. The tendency to make the Welsh terminal "*ewi*" into English "*way*" has

resulted in *Garraway* as a personal name, and Strad*wey* is a similar manifestation (q.v.).

Gater top (Hope-under-Dinmore). 1086 D., *Gadredehope;* 1123 Charter Conf., *Gatredehopa* (*L.*); 1243 T.N., *Gaderedehope;* 1303 F.A., *Gaderildehope* (fresh type); 1373 I.P.M., *Gadrotchildehope;* 1428 F.A., *Gaderildishope;* 1538 Valor, *Gathertopte.*

The forms represent a very unexpected female name, probably *Gatharhildis,* practically a Frankish one, consequently not found in Searle. A masculine (Lat.) form of it is Gatharius. The sense is The valley of *Gatharhildis.* I take the 1373 I.P.M. form to indicate that the scribe, while writing this rare name, confounded it with the more familiar *Gærthryth* (*Gertrude*) and *Thryth-hild* (*Drudhild*).

Gayton. 1086 D., *Getune, Geytune;* 1348 Reg. Ep., *Gaytone.* The prefix may represent A.-S. p.n. *Gega.*

Gazerdine, near Munesley. Probably the terminal here was *worthyn,* farm.

Generglyn, in Yazor. 1447 I.P.M. — (?) *Genen'r glyn,* mouth of the glen.

Gillelande. L.C.

Gillow. *c.* 1130 L.L., *Gillwc, Cil luc;* 1279 I.P.M., *Gilloch;* 1295 I.P.M., *Gyllouth.*

The L.L. forms make the name clear as *Cil,* retreat or corner; *Llwch,* lake (cf. *Lough* and *Loch*). English writers often used *gh* for *ch* in Welsh names (cf. *Loughor* for *Llychwyth*).

Glewston, perhaps *Glædwines-ton,* shortened *Glewineston.*

Gliditon (h.). 1303 I.P.M.

Glynch (brook), Eastnor. (1109 C.S.) A.D. 963, *Glencing, Glences;* 972, *Glencincg.* Here we have the stream-term *incg* as in *Ercing* (see Archenfield); the first element is *Glen,* for W. *Glyn.*

Gobbets, The. Perhaps Morsels of ground. N.F. *Gobet.*

Golden Valley. *Aurea-Vallis* (modern), *Ystrad Aur*, engendered by folk-etymology upon fifteenth-century scribally-incorrect forms of Dore (cf. Abbey-dore).

Mr. Egerton Phillimore, commenting upon the river-name *Dour* (Owen's *Descript. Pembr.*, pt. ii. 168, note 1), has written: "The '*strath*' of the Dour, or the district called after it, are there (*i.e.* Book of Llan Dâv) called *Istrat-dour* and *Estrateur*. The last two instances show the steps by which *Istrat Dour* became first, through phonetic laws, *Istrat Tour*, and then, through folk-etymology, *Istrat Our*, equivalent to the modern *Ystrad Aur*, 'the golden valley.'"

Goldhill. 1278 Reg. Ep., *Goldhulle*.

Goodrich (m. and castle), or (formerly) *Castle-Godrich*. 1166 L.N., *Castro-Godrici*; 1201 L.R., *Castro-Godrici*; 1291 T.E., *Castro-Godrici*; 1324 I.P.M., *Goderiche Castr*. In 1243 Gl. C., Villa de *Castro Godrici*.

The prefix has been dropped, probably owing to there being no other manor of the name to confuse with it. In the case of Castle Bromwich, near Birmingham, there occurs another Bromwich near the same city.

Gore, Gorewall, Gorewelle. 1232 (?) near Pyon. A.-S. *gar*, a promontory or three-sided piece of land.

Gosebroc, Gosebach (in Lyde-Mucegros). 1215 (*c.*). A.-S. *gos*, the goose; *broc*, brook, bach, related to beck, a stream. M.E. *bach*, a valley with a stream. (Cf. Goseditch, which was outside Eastgate, at Gloucester.)

Gorsley. 1291 T.E., *Gorstleye*; 1259 I.P.M., *Gorstleye*; 1289 I.P.M., *Gorstlege*. A.-S. and M.E. *gorst*, modern *gorse*. It is found in many localities in co. Hereford.

Grafton. A frequent place-name in many counties. From A.-S. *græf*, grove.

Grene. 1343 I.P.M., *La Grene*.

Grendon, near Pencombe. (1) Bishop, (2) Waryn. 1086 D., *Grendene*; 1269 I.P.M., *Grendon*; 1291 T.E. *Grendene*

Waryn (Warine de Grendon, 1303 F.A.); 1338 I.P.M., *Grendon;* 1316 N.V., *Grendone Episcop. Green dene,* or *Down.* These terminals often suffer scribal interchange similarly with *don* and *ton.*

Greytree Hundred. 1086 D., *Greitreu, Greitrewes, Gretrewes.* One of many of Domesday hundreds named from some prominent tree or grove. The colour indicated here may point to the aspen or the beam-tree.

Grimsworthe Hundred. 1316 F.A., *Grymesworthe.* Grim's farm. Meeting-place for the Assembly. But, since in 1253 I.P.M., we get the extraordinary form *Grimeswrosne,* and again in 1346 F.A. *Grimeswrosen,* and 1428 F.A. *Grymeswras,* which do not constitute any reading for *worth.* It may be A.-S. *Wrase:* lump, knot.

Gwern. W. for swamp, occurs in combination as a prefix with various misspelled and contorted Welsh terminals, which perhaps form matter for local argument rather than for these pages.

Hache, La, in Straddel. 1271 Reg. Ep.; 1350, *Hacche.* (See under *Hech.*)

Hadenok. 1151 D. Fr., *Hadenac;* Ch. R., Hen. III., *Hodenach.* (*Forest of Dene.*) *i.e.* the oak tree of Hoda. A.-S. p.n.

Hafkr, a pasture. L.C., (?) for *hafar* (W.), land fallowed in summer.

Hafod, The, near Credenhill. W., a summer-dwelling or farm.

Hallaston, near Almeley. (?) Hanlaf's ton. But early forms are lacking.

Hamnish, in Kimbolton. 1086 D., *Hamenes;* 1123 H. Ca. Ch., Hamenessce; 1243 T.N., *Hamenes;* 1303 F.A., *Hamenasse;* 1323 P. Reg., *Hamenessby,* Ri. de (Canon of Hereford); 1431 F.A., *Hamonasshe.* Heahmund's ash-(tree).

Hampton. Frequent as a place-name. Meaning Home-farm. 1086 D., *Hantune;* 1291 T.E., *H. Episcopi, Hempton Episcopi,* 1396; 1399 I.P.M., *H. Mappenore;* 1286 Ch. R., *Wafer;* 1338 I.P.M., 1460 I.P.M., *H. Waffre.*

Hanger, hunger, honger, are often found in combination, or alone, are referable to A.-S. *Hangra,* a wood growing on a hill-side. Care is needed to distinguish combinations possessive containing the personal-names *Hungær* and *Huniga.*

Hanley. 1086 D., *Hanlei;* 1243 T.N., *Hanleye; æt heanlege,* at *High-lea.*

Harbour, Cold, in Kentchurch parish. The familiar name of many farms and some public-houses in several counties, and, until lately, misregarded as the sure token of Roman occupation, for no precise assignable reason. Skeat quotes aptly as usual, "*Loustiel appelez le Coldherbergh en Londres.*" 1440 (*Herts Pl.-N.,* 68), *Herberghe,* shelter; and *here* (as in Hereford), host, army, *i.e. Cold-shelter.* That many Cold-harbours do lie near Roman highways is small wonder. The Saxons relied largely upon these as the best means of conquering the Romanized Britons.

Hardwick. There are several examples of this name in the county. *Herde* (d.), *wyke* (d.). Originally, shepherd's dwelling or wick. A.-S. *Wik,* O.L.G. *wic* (L. *vicus*). Later the stable of a manor, in contrast to *berwick,* the farm.

Harewood ("in Valle Stradelei"). 1086 D., *Harewde;* 1138 Anc. Ch., *Harewuda.*

As hares usually are not woodland animals, nor do they possess woods, and particularly love the open, the animal is not likely to be here intended, but rather A.-S. *Har,* hoar, (g.) *haran,* weakened by loss of *n* to *Hare.* The term is widely in Anglo-Saxon use. We have *hoar* (not *haw*) *thorns, hoar apple trees, hoarwithys,* and *hoar-stones,* and, as we have seen, *grey-trees.*

Harpton, near Kington. 1303 I.P.M., *Harpeton.* The prefix represents a personal-name signifying *Harper,* from A.-S. *Hearp,* a harp. The farm or ton of *Hearp(a).*

Haspelee, *Hespel.* *c.* 1310 L.C.

Hatfield (m.), near Leominster. 1086 D., *Hetfelde ;* 1243 T.N., *Hethfeud.* The Heath-field. M.E. *heath,* A.-S. *Hœth.*

Hathinehalle. (?) Hadwin, for Heathwine(s) Hall.

Hathelthorneley. 1310 L.C.

Haven. 1392 I.P.M., *Hevyn.*

Hawkhurst. 1278 Reg. Ep., *Hauekeshurste.* The wood of a man bearing the name of *Hawk.* Cf. Hawkesbury, Gloucestershire.

Hazle(s), The. 1086 D., *Hasles ;* 1160 L.N., *Hasela ;* 1174 H. Ca. Ch., *Hesele ;* 1303 F.A., *Hasele ;* 1346, *idem.* (At) the hazle or Hazels. There is no suffix (for *ley*) here.

Heath, The. 1086 D., *Hed ;* 1241 T.N., *Hethe ;* 1219 H. Ca. Ch. *le hethe ;* 1278 I.P.M., *La hethe ;* 1343 I.P.M., *La heathe.*

Hech. 1086 D. (?) *Hegge.* 1316 N.V., *Heche* (Lastres). *Hacche* (A.-S. *hæc*), meaning a wicket-gate. M.E. *hache.*

Heliston, from *Healf* or *Healfheah.* 1194 E. H. Cart., *Helyston ;* 1300 I.P.M., *Eylston* (q.v.). The ton or farm of *Healfheah.*

Hellens, in Much Markle, like *Awnells,* derives from a family-name. The notion that the great Norman family of *Heliun* took their name from this place is ridiculous ; yet it has been said locally by antiquaries. It was really named after the said family, and then corrupted.

Hemme. 1392 I.P.M. For *hamme,* derivative of Hamm, enclosed place. 1310 L.C., *Hememerse.*

Hendre. W., winter dwelling or durable house, *i.e.* an old house.

Hengoed. Probably *Hen,* old, ancient ; *coed,* wood.

Henlepe. *c.* 1180 Br. C. Perhaps a decoy for wild fowl.

Hennor, near Leominster. 1123 Ch. C., *Heanoura, Henovere;* 1373 I.P.M., *Henore.* A.-S. (*d.*) *Hean,* high; *Ofre,* bank.

Hentland. *c.* 1130 L.L., *Henlann, Dibric* (*Dyfrig*); 1291 T.E., *Hentlan;* 1316 N.V., *Hentlan;* 1331 Reg. Ep., *Henthlan.* The Welsh LL=th-sound has but too faithfully affected the spelling. The origin is *Hen-llan,* old church.

Hercope. 1086 D., 1265 Ch. R., *Horcopp.* (See *Orcop.*)

Hereford. 1048 A.-S. Chr., *Hérefordseir;* 1086 D., *Hereford* (*Castle* and *Moat*); 1161 L.R., *Herford.* A.-S. *Here,* the host or army; *ford,* ford.

Hergest, on the western bound of the shire. 1086 D., *Hergesth;* 1251 Ch. R., *Heregast;* 1278 Reg. Ep., *Hergast;* 1302 P.Q.W., *Hergast:* 1316 N.V., *Henglas;* 1372 I.P.M., *Hergast;* 1374 I.P.M., *Heregest;* 1522, *Horegaste.*

The prefix, according to the appearances, should be *Here*=the *Host,* in which case the terminal is *gast,* A.-S. *gæst,* spirit or ghost. Unfortunately the West Saxons did not draw upon imagination for their place-names, as did the Irish; and, therefore, we may be sure that, however attractive to the fancy, this is not the meaning, and that we more probably have to remain in the twilight, reflecting that the River Arrow, flowing down yonder, was known in Saxon days as the River *Erge,* and we may surmise, though we cannot prove, that there is intimate connection between *Erge* and *Hergest.*

Herntun (m.). 1123 Ch. C., *Herntun;* 1344 P. Reg., *Herewynton;* 1320, *Herwyntone;* [(?) 1307 I.P.M., *Herton*]. The meaning is the ton or farm of Herewine.

Heztre. 1086 D., *Hezetre, Hesetre*=*Hazel*-tree.

Hillardesley [et *Staundon*]. 1464 I.P.M. Probably for *Wilheardesley.*

Hillhampton (m.), near Ocle Pichard. 1291 T.E., *Hullhampton ;* 1419 I.P.M., *Holampton.* Home-farm on the hill.

Hinton. 1310 L.C., *Heenton.* The Domesday manor and another, now known as Peterchurch *Hinton* and Hereford *Hinton,* possess forms which refer them to A.-S. *Hina, hinen* (pl. g.). The sense is the farm of the *hinds* or servants (cf. Highnam, Gloucestershire). In other cases *hean* is the weak dative sing. of *heah=high.* "*At the high farm.*"

Hodereia. 1310 L.C., *Ederee, Ederey,* the isle belonging to *Eadhere.*

Hollake. *c.* 1310 L.C. (Perhaps for Goyelache=Goylake (r.n.)).

Holloway. 1086 D., *Halvede.* This scribal form suggests L. *vadum,* rather than A.-S. *weg.*

Holme Lacy. 1086 D., *Hamme.* "Walter de Laci" gave 204 acres of his wood of *Hamma* in length from *Fern* to the *Ebrok* to Craswell Priory, and the later addition of his name to this one of their fifty-two manors. The Holm is a variant of A.-S. *Hamm, homm.* It is usually a low-lying piece of land, more or less enclosed by water-courses. It has nothing to do with another *homm* and *hamm,* the curved limb, but is mistaken for that. The form Holm, as in *Kingsholm,* at Gloucester, signifies an island, and was successful in both places in surviving other forms, owing to the low-lying, floodable character of the respective localities.

Holmer (m.), near Lyde. Pronounced "*Homer.*" 1086 D., *Holemere ;* 1233 Cl. R., *Holmere ;* 1273 H. Ca. Ch., *Holemore ;* 1316 F.A., *Holmare ;* 1316 N.V., *Holmare.* A.-S. (d.) *Hole*=hollow, moor.

Holstrey, near Madley. 1303 I.P.M., *Olandstre.* Possibly Oldans-tree.

Honey Moor, at Eaton Bishop, in the Wye Valley.

As with most other place-names presenting this word,

this is taken to mean one thing only, and that is the ever-valuable sugar of medieval days supplied by the bees. But there are many reasons for supposing that this is not the real explanation of the term, but that it is, perhaps, a river-name merely transmuted, as was not unnatural, to Honey (A.-S. *Hunig*, *honi*), by means of interpretative assimilation on the part of Huiccian Saxons. That a river should be called "honey" is imaginative, but it cannot refer to the motion of its waters. It could only perhaps refer to its sweetness or its clearness. But the prosaic Saxons did not think in this way; the whole world of their place-names evidences quite the contrary. These simple flashes of naming belong to certain other Aryan peoples, both Slavic and Celtic, but not to them. Therefore, if not for other reasons, we may suspect that the Honey-bourne was not so named save by suggestion sparked by its more ancient name, and this was probably the *Onni* or *Onney;* old Celtic *Onno* (*flumen*).

In like manner the "Honeycomb" Leaze Farm near Quenington, in Gloucestershire, had neither to do with the comb nor the honey. It is the farm in one of many combes watered by a stream once known by some ancient folk, perhaps from the late Celtic period under Roman rule, as the Onne, quite possibly aspirated. *Honeylake* brook is a tributary of the Little Arrow.

The Rev. Leonard Wilkinson reminds me that in a famous Saxon Charter (which I have used in another work), namely C.S. No. 299 (A.D. 800), giving the boundaries of Withingdon westward of Andoversford, we have the words "*andlang dic ofer huniburnan,*" so there was another honey-burn there; and he likewise adduces C.S. 361–362, where dealing with the boundaries of Salwarp (co. Worcester), we have "*ond æt Hunnigburnan twegen weorthias.*" To which may here be added that, not only is there still a river bearing this name on the Shropshire boundary of this county, Onibury, but the present Pinsley Brook was formerly known as the River *Onny* (q.v.)

I would, therefore, venture to suggest that a small river near Honey Moor, and flowing into the Wye, may have been the origin of its name.

Hope. A.-S. *Hop* (and Scand.) hope=a valley, is an especially frequent place-name in Herefordshire, either in actual combination with the suffix "*ton*," or followed with some noble name of a feudal family of old, but occasionally struggling for precedence with the latter, as in *Milleshope*, *Millinghope* (1333) and (1249), called *Hopemile* in 1341. The Brecon Cartulary (1220) gives us the form *Hepe*, which occasionally reappears as a terminal.

Hope Mansel. 1263 Gl. C., *Malvysell;* 1291 T.E., *Meloysel;* 1341 N.I., *Maloysel*, etc.; 1185 P.R., *Maloisel* (co. Hereford).

The medievals, and particularly the Italians and the Normans, delighted in punning-names and grotesqueries. *Gattamalata*, *Malatesta*, *Maloisel* are examples. *Malherbe*, *Hugh Asinus*, *Oildeboeuf*.

Hopton (Stoke Lacy). 1086 D., *Hopetune;* 1243 T.N., *Hoptun;* 1270, *Hopton Wafre;* 1522 Br. C., *Hopton Havernell*. "At the valley farm."

Howle Hill, in Walford, and **Great Howle** (Forest of Dene), east of the Wye. Early forms are lacking. 1455 I.P.M., *Howle* ("in Weston") (Richard Walleweyns).

The writer is unable to agree with the view that these *Howls* were *Holiwells*, or that they have to do with Goodrich.

Howton. 1165 Ch., *Hugetune;* 1243 T.N., *Huton;* 1323 I.P.M., *Houton;* 1340 I.P.M., *Houghton;* 1371 I.P.M., *Houton* (Cotes). *Hyge* or *Huge*, short for the A.-S. personal-name *Hygered*, *i.e.* the farm of Hygered.

Hull, La (Hill). D. *Godric Mappersones* (*Goodrich*). 1086 D., *Hulla*, 1307, *La Hulle*. A manorial name in many counties. (Cf. *Pl.-N. of Glos.*)

Huntfrayeston (m.). 1327 I.P.M., 1332 I.P.M., *Huntfreyston*, *i.e. Humphrey's* ton or farm.

Humede. 1303 I.P.M., (?) *Holmedewe*, par. of Brinsop, 1230 (Br. C.).

Humber (m.) and (r.). 1086 D., *Humbre ;* 1275 Reg. Ep., 1238 Br. C., *Humbre ;* 1373 I.P.M., *Humbre :* 1428 F.A., *Homber*. A river-name of unknown significance, occurring sporadically. (Cf. Gamber.)

Hunderton. *c.* 1150 Reg. Ep., *Hundreton ;* 1252 H. Ca. Ch., *Hunditon ;* 1376 H. Ca. Ch., *Hunderton*. The farm (ton) of *Hundruda*. A.-S. p.n.

Hunger. (Cf. *Hanger*).

Hungeria. *c.* 1154 (in Hereford town). *c.* 1230 *Hungreya*. Cf. 1375, *Hungerstrete*. This may point, not to *hangra*, A.-S. a wood, but to a p.n. *Huniger* or *Hungær*. The island (*eye*) belonging to *Hungær*.

Huntington, near Hereford. 1086 D., *Huntenetune*.

Huntington, near Kington, *i.e.* English H. 1086 D., *Hantinetune ;* 1299 I.P.M. (castle and manor), *Huntiton*. Both intend the same, *i.e.* farm of the huntsmen.

The scribes are often loose in writing "*ton*" and "*don*," as well as *don* and *dene*.

Huntsham. Ferry near Goodrich. (S.) a vill in the Forest of Dene. *c.* 1145 *Honsum, Hunstone ; c.* 1200, *Hondsum ;* 1281, *Hunsam*.

The p.n. intended here was probably *Hund*, and the medial *d* had a natural tendency to drop out before "*sh*." The terminal "*um*" is for *homme* "*hamm*," and it also occurs in the variants of Bilsham. (Cf. *Pl.-N. of Glos.*)

Hurst, The. (And in combinations.) Not common in this county.

Hurstley. This name cannot derive from either "hurst," a wood, or from "Heort," the hart or stag, as it is usually said to do. First, because stags were not feudal owners, although *undertenants* of land ; and, secondly, because the forms do

not lead to such a conclusion, however ingenious it may appear to be.

1298 Reg. Ep., *Hurtesleye ;* 1310 L.C., *Hurthesley ;* 1333 Reg. Ep., *Hurtesleye ;* 1345 P. Reg., *Hurtesley ;* 1398 I.P.M., *Hosseley ;* 1445 I.P.M., *Hurtesly ;* 1463 I.P.M., *Hursteley.* The Leom. Cart. gives *Hurthesley* and *Hortesley.*

In Hampshire occurs Hurstbourne, which derives from *Hysse*burna (A.D. 961, W. Chart.) ; and it is perhaps matter for suspicion that one of the above forms gives *Hosse,* which might give a p.n. Hussa to both, for Hossa is late fourteenth century. What are needful are earlier forms. But it is possible we may here have Heorstan as the disguised personal-name.

Hyde. 1086 D., *Hide* (the Hyde of Land). Carrying this name, there are naturally several places, such as *Hyda Monachorum* or *Monkhide* (Yarkhill), and *Parva Hide.* The Hyde was a unit of land-assessment.

Ingestone, near Foy. 1283 Reg. Ep., *Enchetone ;* 1420 I.P.M., *Yngeston.* The farm by the water, *incg, ingge,* a stream-term. (Cf. *Inchthorp, Inchbrook,* co. Gloucestershire.)

Instone, near Bishop's Frome.

Iveston, (?) near Orleton.

Ivington, south-west of Leominster. 1086 D., *Ivintune ;* 1303 F.A., *Ivynton ;* 1333 I.P.M., *Ivynton ;* 1433 P. Reg., *Yventon.* The ton or farm of *Gefwine.* G=y.

Kenchester. 1086 D., *Cenecestre ;* 1166 L.N., *Kenecestre ;* 1291 T.E., *Kenestre ;* 1384 I.P.M., *Cheynestre ;* 1452, *Kenchestre.* Possibly *Coen-ceastre.* A.-S. p.n. *Coena-n* becomes *Chenen* and *Kenen,* which, weakened further, drops the possessive *n.* The forms are unfavourable to *Cyne,* and moreover *Cyne* would have given *Cingescestre. Ceaster* from Low-Latin *Castræ* = camp.

Kenderchurch, in Archenfield. *c.* 1130 L.L., *Lann Cinitr* (*Llangynidr Llan-y-Crug*) ; 1291 T.E., Eccl. *St. Kenedri ;*

1188–1212 Br. C., *Kenedereschirch;* 1341 N.I., Eccl. *St. Kenidri;* 1428 F.A., *Kendurchirche.* The Church of *St. Cynidr,* a Welsh saint of the fifth century.

Kent-Church. The *t* is augmentative. 1130 L.L., *Lann Cein;* 1205 Eccl., St. *Keyne* (Ewias Harold Cart.) ; 1281 Reg. Ep., St. *Kayna;* 1291 T.E. (Ewias Harold Cart.) ; 1341 I.P.M., *Keynchirche;* 1386 P. Reg., *Kencherge.* The saint's name is spelled *Keina* and *Keyna,* and (Glos. Cart., i. 76) *Kaenæ(g).*

Ken (r.). Tributary of River Lugg, to-day known as Kenwater.

Kevenbaugh, in Dore Valley. 1538, W. *Cefn,* ridge. The terminal is probably W. *bach,* little,

Kilbury. Camp.

Kilpeck. 1086 D., *Chipeete; c.* 1130 L.L., *Cil Pedec;* 1166 L.A., *Kilpaek;* 1170 Gl. C., *Kylpeke;* 1291 T.E., *Kylpec.* Mr. E. Phillimore suggests *Chilpetec* as an amendment for the imperfect Domesday form, and phonetically of *Cilpedec* or *Cil-pedeg,* probably the former. (Cf. also, *Trans. Soc. Cymmrod,* 1899–1900, p. 144.) The prefix=W. *cil,* retreat, corner. The terminal is unexplained.

Kimbolton. 1310 L.C., *Kynebalton, Kymbalton;* 1395 I.P.M., *Coblyton.* The farm of *Cynebald.* A.-S. p.n.

Kimley, in Letton. Kyl*ney* (m.), *a.* 7 Hen. VI., P.M.I. Metathesis of a pronounced kind occurs between the early form and the present one. Unfortunately the fifteenth-century form by itself is not sufficiently ancient to allow of any decision.

Kingsland. (Cf. under Eardisland and Leominster.) 1316 N.V., *Kinglene. Land* is here a usual corruption of *lane,* but *lane* was already corrupted from *lene,* for earlier *leon,* a pre-Saxon word.

Kingsley. 1301 I.P.M., *Kingeslowe.* A misreading of *ley* very frequent.

Kingstone (m.) (in Weston-under-Penyard). 1086 D., *Chingestune;* 1122 D.F., *Chinton;* 1175, *Quintona, Wintona.*

Kingestannord. 1296 I.P.M. (Meronda Pygod's). See *Stanford.*

Kington (m.). 1086 D., *Chingtune;* 1166 L.N., *Cheinethone;* 1316 N.V., *Kingstaple;* 1341 N.I., *Kynton.* The meaning is royal or noble *ton* or *town.* A.-S. *Cyne-tun.*

Kinlet. Anciently in co. Hereford, now in co. Salop. 1291 T.E., *Keynlec* ("*c*" as so frequently for "*t*" in Norman (medieval) writings); 1294 I.P.M., *Kimlet* (*parcus*) (*m* and *n* often interchange); 1305 I.P.M., *Kynlet;* 1359 I.P.M., *Kinlet.* The terminal may perhaps represent A.-S. *lad* (*ge-*), a path, *i.e. Cynelad,* royal path or way.

Kinnersley. 1086 D., (?) *Curdeslege;* 1123 Ch. C., *Chinardeslegh;* 1243 T.N., *Kinardesleg;* 1303 F.A., *Kynardesleye;* 1428 I.P.M., *Kinardesley. Cyneheard's* ley or meadow.

Kinton, near Leintwardine. 1086 D., *Chingtune;* 1299 I.P.M., *Kinton;* 1303 I.P.M., *Kynton.* Meaning, as in *Kington* above.

Kiverknoll, in Much Dewchurch. It belonged to the Priory of Kilpeck. Perhaps it is the same with *Kevermond,* 1298 I.P.M. 1327 Pl. Abb., *Kyvernowe.* Here it is Norman, not English wriggling with a native Welsh name. (Cf. Grosmont, Montalt, though it may be the N.F. rendering of either W. *mynydd* or E. *meend.*) *Kyver, Kiver* and *Keven* probably represent W. *Cefn.* Possibly the name was *Cefnenau,* the *ridges.*

Knill. 1086 D., *Chenille;* 1280 Ch. R., *Knovell;* 1281 Reg. Ep., *Kinille;* 1291 T.E., *Knulle;* 1307 L.C., 1307 I.P.M. *Knill.* Apparently the scribes have thought of M.E. *cnol,* but have returned to something very like the Domesday form, which, however, does not lead to Knoll, and must remain obscure. The appearances favour Cyne-hill, royal hill.

Kynaston (m.). Much Marcle. 1339 I.P.M., *Kynewarston;* 1303, *Kynarditon;* 1354 I.P.M., *Kynewardeston.* The farm of *Cyneweard.*

Kynaston, in Hentland. 1331 I.P.M., *Knyghateton* (*m.*); *Cynegith's-tun* (?).

Kyrsop. (1338 I.P.M.)

Kyrebatch. *Valley of the Kyre* (m.). Near Wolferlow.

Kyre, Great. 1086 D., *Cuer, Chire;* 1174 D.F., *Caure;* 1275 I.P.M., *Cure;* 1305 I.P.M., *Cure* (*parva*). Probably from W. *cwr, end* or *edge.*

Kyre-wiard. (See under *Cuilardville.*)

Lacre. 1086 D. (*Carbonel holds*).

Lagademar. 1086 D., belonging to Archenfield. Perhaps *Llygad Amhar* ? King Arthur's son.

Lancaegy. Welsh-Newton, probably for *Glan-coegy,* bank of the River Coegy.

Landmore.

Landervael. 1317 Reg. Ep., F.E. *Llan-dyfael.*

Landwaran. 1275 Reg. Ep., (See *Llanwarne.*)

Lanerch (r.). Tributary of the River Garran. Lanerch, *i.e. Llenyrch,* a glade or clearing.

Languet, The. A neck or strip of wood or land. A.-S. *Lang, geat*=gate. Common in many counties.

Larport, near Mordiford (juxta "Fromey"). 1274 I.P.M., *Lurteport;* 1303, 1346, *Lorteport;* 1397 I.P.M., *Lartport;* 1374 I.P.M., *Lusteporte.* The prefix is doubtful, but probably A.-S. *Lorta,* p.n.; the terminal may be *port,* as in *Newport* (W. porth), gate or ferry. (Cf. *Blaenporth.*) (Cf. 1166 L.R., *R. de Lorticote;* L.N., *de Larticote.*) The p.n. *Lorta* occurs in the *Onomasticon.*

Lasefeld. 1274 I.P.M.

Lasked, The, near Llandinabo. Possibly *Glas-coed,* green-wood, but uncertain.

Lawton, near Kingsland. 1086 D., *Lautune ;* 1243 T.N., *Lautune ;* 1281 Ch. R., *Laghton ;* 1316 F.A., 1337 I.P.M., *Lauton ;* 1370 I.P.M., *Lauton* "juxta Kingstane ;" 1431 F.A., Over and *Nether.* M.E. *Lawe,* A.-S. *hlaw,* barrow or mound, plural *Lages.*

Laysters, near Brilley. 1086 D., *Last ;* 1257 Ch. R., *Lastres ;* 1292 I.P.M. *Lastrys ;* 1303 and 1431 F.A., 1373 I.P.M., *Lasties ;* 1420 I.P.M., *Lasetres.* The terminal represents "*trees*"; perhaps the Ash (*Le Asch*) is involved.

Leadon (1) (r.). A tributary of the Severn.

Leadon (2) (r.). Bishop's Frome. A tributary of the Frome. 1086 D., *Lede* and *Ledene ;* 1291, *Leden.* An ancient river-name like the Onny, of which this is one of many surviving examples. The Wick-water at Painswick was called *Ledene* in the twelfth century, probably represented by *Ladle*comb to-day, in Cranham.

Leathers, The (f.n.). Possibly for *Ladders,* in which case the *Gallows* are intended.

Ledbury. 1086 D., *Liedeberge ;* 1150 H. Ca. Ch., *Lydbury ;* 1154, *Ledebury* and *Lideberia ;* 1162 H. Ca. Ch., *Lideberia ;* 1276 Reg. Ep., *Lydebury.* Situated on the River *Leadon* (*Leden*), these early varieties of the name show apparent fusion with another ancient river-name, which is, and was, familiar both in regions north and south of Herefordshire, namely the *Lyde.* It may be noticed that the later forms of the *Liden* at Lidney turn into *Ledenei, Ledeney* (A.D. 972, *Lidanege,* and 1086 *Lidenegie,* in Hereford Domesday Survey). I have ventured elsewhere to suggest that the various *Lydbrooks, Luddebrok*(*s*), and *Ludebrok*(*s*), and *Ludepol*(*s*) point to occasional confusion with or mis-appropriation of the familiar A.-S. p.n. *Ludda.* But the root-theme *Lyd,* as a stream-term, remains far-spread and abundant, and its tendency to interchange with *Lede* and *Let* and *Leden* is probably fairly general. It is not Anglo-Saxon. This should point to two separate but overlapping *stream-names,* though possibly

having a common origin, but possibly *not*. *Lludd* is also a legendary name in Wales, as Professor Sir W. Anwyl has pointed out in the *Cambr. Mediæval History*, vol. ii., p. 474, where he deals with that difficult problem, *Nodens*, the Divinity that was the Dagon of *Lydney-Park* (Glos.). The Irish God *Nuada*. (See under *Lugg*.)

Leddicott, near Shobdon. 1086 D., *Leidecote, Lidcote ;* 1345 I.P.M., *Ledecote ;* 1371 I.P.M., *Lidecote*. There may here be suspected again the stream-name *Leden*, rather than the A.-S. p.ns. *Leda* or *Ludda*.

Legions Cross, near Eardisland. Probably from *Leon, Leons, Lene*. See under *Lyonshall* and *Eardisland*.

Leinthall. 1086 D., *Lenhale, Lintehale, Letehale ;* 1316 N.V., *Leynthale*. Most of the subsequent forms represent the second of these Domesday forms *Leynt* or *Leint*, and this stands for no A.-S. p.n.

Perhaps the "*t*" is merely augmentative ("*euphoniæ causa*") in both this name and the following one, in which case the *Lein* or *Leyn* were identical originally with that element (*i.e. Leon*) in *Lenehalle*, the Domesday Survey form of *Lyonshall* (q.v.), and the other *lene* examples. (See *Eardisland*, etc.)

The terminal is for A.-S. *hale*, W.S. *heale*, derivative of *Healh ;* Mercian *Hath*, a corner-meadow. 1332 and 1382 I.P.M., **L-starkes.** The last name may be for *Startes, Stertes*, A.-S. *Steort*, a tongue or plough-tail of land.

Leintwardine. 1086 D., *Lenteurde ;* 1287 Reg. Ep., *Leintwordyn ;* N.V., *Leynwardyn ;* 1380 P.R., *Leyntwardyn*. The prefix is identical with that of the preceding name, with addition of A.-S. Weorthig. It is not Anglo-Saxon. We may recollect that early spellings of Lydney give *Leinden-ein*.

Lembegge. *c.* 1195 (Br. C.), rivulet (or brook) so called, in Bredwardine.

Lene. Cf. under Eardisland. 1086 D., *Lene ;* 1250,

Leena. Canon Bannister derives it "possibly" from "*Llion*= floods, streams;" but there is no such word in Welsh. He was thinking of Rhys' account of the legend of Bala Lake. (Cf. *Celtic Folklore*, p. 382.)

Leominster. 1046 A.-S. Chr. *Leomynstre;* 1086 D., *Leofminstre;* 1228 Cl. R., *Leiminstre* and *Leminstre.*

The Domesday or *f* form (were it supported by the collateral evidence of later or of earlier forms) would make the problem to be solved very simple. But this is not only not the case (for it stands absolutely alone), but there is no tradition supported by any evidence, but merely wild guessing (which is the worst of all foes to the analytic study of place-names), that a minster was there at all. Professor Freeman wished to think there had been one, and even stated that it must have been after 1032. Possibly his mind was being influenced by the knowledge of the warlike Bishop of Hereford, as well as by Leofric, and this Domesday form. But evidence in favour of that belief has not come to its corroboration. There was none.

This brings us again directly in contact with *Leon-iena* (*Hiena-hina* for *igena* from *ieg*, A.-S. island. Cf. *Eign* and *Presteign*), and *Lion-hina* of the Charter (A.D. 948) of Edgar, granting land to Ealhstan at Staunton-upon-Arrow and Hay in this county. We have seen (under *Eardisland*, q.v.) that this *Leon*, and *Leen*, and *Lien*, are variants of a term probably denoting a riverine or low-lying district; and, moreover, that the term, its forms, and its application, correspond with the cantonal *Leuns*, *Liuns* (to-day *Leonais*) in Brittany.

It has nothing whatever to do with Pope *Leo*, or *Leontius*, nor with any man whose name began with *Leof*. It is pre-Saxon. If we turn to the Sussex *Lyminster*, we shall see the same elements at work, and almost in the same manner; excepting that here there *was* a minster. The Papal Registers, 1345, give *Lenemynstre* for the Arundel manor

there. The I.P.M. of 1321 gives for it *Lenemenstre*, while the 1311 R. Chart. gives plainly *Leonemunstre*.

Here our 1046 form comes to our rescue. It possesses the only "*y*" in the latter section of the name-forms. The writer considers that this makes it certain that "*mynstre*" is not a scribal error, but corresponds, albeit of a diverse origin, to the Sussex "*munstre*" form above. Now, the author of *Sussex Place-Names* (Mr. R. G. Roberts) has attributed his *Leone-munster* to Pope Leo III., A.D. 795–816, but he has not noticed that the endorsement of a much earlier charter (No. 98 (A.D. 697) in Birch) directly says, "*Rumening seta inn to Limining-mynster.*"

Thus, we perhaps have the real root of things. The *Limen* (*Limmæa* of a C.S. Charter, A.D. 740, and possibly Portus Lemanis of the Antonine Iter) river in co. Kent was once the *Limining* or *Limminge*, "*Sta. Maria de Limminge*" (same endorsement). We have surely here the *incg* (stream-term) which occurs in Gyt*ingges*, Twyn*yngges*, and *Wanetinz* (Wantage); but we have also the identity of the *Leone*, *Lene*, and *Lune*, forms (as we have seen) of the prefix of both *Leominster*, co. Hereford, and of *Lyminster*, in the county of Sussex. If we turn to Gloucestershire Domesday Survey, we find that the little place near Moreton-in-the-Marsh, called *Lemington* to-day, was in 1088 *Leminington*, and *Limenton*, and *Lymynton*, a suspicious uncertainty prevailing as to the vowel-sound; and also that the 1291 form, though intruded on by a "*p*" (as in Ham*p*ton), has preserved the *inc* of *incg*, the stream (modern) *inch*, as in *Inchbrook* (Nailsworth). Consequently Lemington (Gloucestershire) means the *tun* or farm, not of the sons of anyone, but on the *River Limin* or *Lemeninc*g, which comes to identity with the above Sussex example; to which we may add that, did other (and say eighth and ninth century) forms survive to demonstrate the evolution of this name, there is probability that these would manifest the *Leon*, *Lene*, and *Lune*, perhaps even precisely an unaltered *Leonemincg*.

But we may further adduce from Professor Skeat's *Place-Names of Huntingdonshire*, the name Lymage. He shews that even the forms of it given in the H.R. in A.D. 1279, *Liminge* and *Limminge*, were preceded here likewise by *Limininge*, our now familiar friend. He then adduces from a Charter of A.D. 741 a mention of *Liminæa*, *i.e.* River Limen, "which was an old river-name." That is nearly what we need. But we need something more; we need (as we found with the Lyonshall, Liun, Leon, Lene, and as we found with Kings*land*, Eardis*land*, and Monk*land*) a district or *riverine-district-name*.

Mr. Chadwick, in his studies of old English (*Camb. Phil. Tr.*, iv. 2, p. 147), thought he had made this fact out by referring the Anglian *ge* of *inge* to the German *gau*, a district It would seem that while his main conclusion as to this is correct, his manner of arriving at it is not agreeable to the terminal, but must rather belong to the prefix; that is to say it is probably the Lymen, Lemin, Limen, which represents a district, which has given its name to the *ingge*, *inge*, or *inch*, or *inz*.

If we turn to Lymington in Hampshire, at the mouth of the River Boldre, and look up its Domesday name, at once we meet with *Lenton* (apparently the *Lene* of *Lene*hall, Domesday Survey of *Lyonshall*, which also is *Len*hal in 1243 and 1227), and *Lemyn*-ton in 1300. Hence we may infer that there was a Limen-incg there. To this, further, we may add as having the same root-derivation, *Lemington* in co. Stafford, *Lemene* Manor, 1326 I.P.M. (co. Devon), (*Limenes-ton* in 1290), *Lymenesfeld* (co. Surrey), 1333, and possibly yet more interesting, *Lymyngton*, 1327, 1344, 1360 I.P.M. (co. Somerset); where something more than poetical tradition has placed Leones, Lyoness, a watery district corresponding to the *Leonais*, *Lyons*, and *Liuns* of northern Brittany.

The ancient name of Leominster was (*Llan*) *Lienny*. If this be worthy of trust, it may further point in the

direction of our argument for *Leon, Lene* above. Compare with this, therefore, the *Llyn Liwan* anciently near Lydney, Gloucestershire, for which see under *Lugharness.*

The result of the above tends to regard (1) the derivation of *Leominster* as having nothing to do with a hypothetical abbey at all, but with *Lemininceg-tre, i.e.,* the tree beside the river *Limin, Lemin* or *Lenem.* (2) It also establishes that a pre-Saxon river-term, *Limen,* survives in many districts.

Lemmeresland, "*juxta Lugg.*" 1387 I.P.M. (?) Lemore to-day.

Lemore, near Eardisland. A homestead, mount and moat.

Lesdimere. 1310 L.C.

Leswarney (m.). 1392 I.P.M.

Letton (1.). On the Wye.

Letton (2.), near Brampton Brian. 1086 D., *Letune, Lectune ;* 1291 T.E., *Lecton ;* 1303 F.A., *Letton ;* 1333 I.P.M., 1337 P.R., 1345 I.P.M., 1428, 1463 (*Over* and *Nether*). This may be the ton or farm beside the lake. A.-S. *Lac,* but as the Norman often wrote *lec* for *legh,* it is perhaps merely *Leyton.*

Lidgate. Br. C., near Brinsop (*c.* 1230). 1310 L.C., *Lhidiate.* From A.-S. *hlid,* box. Professor Skeat defined it as an old-fashioned kind of stile or swing-gate. A.-S. *hlid-geat.* It occurs in many counties, and became a personal-name. (Cf. John Mire, *Instr. for Priests, C.* 1497.)

Lidiart. W., a gate.

Liman. A rivulet, tributary of the Trothy (co. Monmouthshire). L.L., *Lumon.* It is of especial interest to find that this, like the other rivers *Limen,* is also a shortened form from "*Limenan*" or "*Limenings,*" L.L., which earlier was (probably) *Leomenincg.* It enables us to place side by side the towns of *Lymington* (Hants), *Limage* (Kent), *Lymage* (Hunts), *Leamington* (Warwick), *Limington* (Somerset), *Lemington* (Devon), and *Lemington* (Gloucester). Probably

the source of all was a pre-Saxon stream-term *Leomen*. (Cf. *Leominster*.

Lym(e)brook, near Lingen (q.v.). 1278 Reg. Ep., *Lyngebroke*; 1282, *Lynggebroke*, a nunnery or priory; 1291 T.E., *Lyngebrok*; 1320 H. Ca. Ch., *Lingbroke* (*Nunnery*), 1384, *Limebrook*; 1538, *Lymbroke*. Possibly the original form of this name was simply "*The Incg*," Normanised "*Le yngg*." (Cf. Inchbrook, near Nailsworth, Glos.) See *Lestret* for *Le Strete*, under Street.

Linceter, near Whitbourne. Forms lacking to this interesting name.

Lincot, near Pontrilas, and elsewhere in the county.

Lincumbe. 1086 D.

Lynge (r.), now Limbrook. See *Lingen*. *ng* tends naturally to *m*, *lind* to *lime*. (Cf. Bele*m*, pronounced Bele*ng*.)

Lingen, on the Upper Lugg. 1086 D., *Lingham*; 1180, *Leyngyn*; 1182 P.R., *Lingein*; 1243, *Lingaine*; 1277 Reg. Ep., *Lingayne* and *Lynygeyn*; 1324, *Lingeyne*; (1316 F.A.), N.V., *Lyngeyne*; 1334, *Lyngeyn*; 1431, *Lyngen*.

Where a place-name is found to have undergone extensive corruption, there is strong presumption that its origin is not an English one. This name looks as if it had so suffered. It is certainly not wholly English, but it has not suffered nearly so much as the Domesday form might cause us to think. In the present writer's view it is one of the most interesting place-names in the county. The Domesday (1086) form gives it for terminal *ham*. The other early Anglo-Norman forms, however, show that the final "*m*" of this Domesday Survey form is a common scribal alteration, and it can be set aside for "*n*." The terminal is *eign* (islands), as in Pres*teigne* (q.v.). The *prefix* (in one twelfth-century spelling at least) gives us the French definite article, *Le*, before the stream-term *incg* or *yngg* (of 1277). This makes the elements clear as Le Incg-eyn.

Lindrugge. 1281 Reg. Ep., *Linden* (*lime-tree*) *ridge.*

Linnett, The. *i.e.* Linhay or *Linney,* a farm-building for storage.

Linton. 1086 D., *Lintone ;* 1226 H. Ca. Ch., *Lynton ;* 1184 P.R., *Linson ;* 1291 T.E., *Lynton ;* 1316 N.V., *Lyntone ;* 1341 N.I., *Lynton.* This is *Lin* from A.-S. *Lin,* flax, by the earlier forms.

Lionshall, in Peterchurch. 1297 Ch. R., *Limhales ;* 1316 F.A., *Lynhales ;* 1386 I.P.M., *Lunales.* Metathesis here has thrown back the *s* to the prefix. The latter is discussed under Leominster (q.v.) and Lyonshall.

Litley. 1086 D., *Lutelei ;* 1144–8 H. Ca. Ch., *Luttleya* and (1224) *Lutteley.* The A.-S. p.n. *Lutt* is known, so this prefix may stand for a weak form *Lutta-an.*

Little Hereford. 1086 D., *Lutelonhereford ;* 1303 F.A., *Parva H.*

Litton, by Radnorshire. *Lytton.*

Llan. Enclosure, yard, church. A common Welsh prefix in the south-west portion of the county, often the only morsel of a place-name that survives in an undecomposed state. Hence wild guessing has revelled unchecked, a sort of winter-fireside game regarding many of the place-names thus commencing. Their present spellings are those here given, and any which date from behind the date of the ingenious and misleading Mr. Leland. Sometimes, however, *Llan* has supplanted *Glan,* shore.

Llanach. 1324 I.P.M., *Lanathe.*

Llanarrow, on the River Arrow. 1398 I.P.M., *Llanarum* in Yale.

Llanavon. 1301 I.P.M., *Lanavan=Glan-Afan.* Shore of Afan (*river*).

Llanbodon. Possibly *Bodon's* Church.

Llancillo. *c.* 1130 L.L., *Lann Sulbiu ;* 1296 A.Q.D.,

Lansilio; 1323 I.P.M., *Lanciliou;* 1399, *Lancelio;* 1182 P.R., *Lantelio. i.e. Llan Sulfyw.* If a saint's name is intended here, it may have been Sylvius.

Llancloudy. *c.* 1130 L.L., Lann *Louden.*

Llanoryn. 1317 Reg. Ep.

Llandee.

Llanderwyn. 1314 I.P.M., *Llandwyn* (m.).

Llandinabo. According to the Editor of Owen's *Pembrokeshire* (pt. 3, p. 273, n. 1) this may represent the Church of St. *Junabui,* L.L.

Llandevelok. 1215 Br. C., *Llandevelog;* 1373 I.P.M., *Dyfaelog*

Llandore. 1312 I.P.M., *Landover* (?)

Llanedry.

Llanfair.

Llanfrother, *i.e. frodyr,* church of the *brethren,* L.L.

Llangarren. 1140 D.F., *Langara;* 1316 N.V., *Langaran;* 1522, *Llangaren.* Five miles north-west of Ross.

Llangunbille, near Monmouth. *Llan* of *Cynvil* (*Gynfil*).

Llangunnock. Modern Llangynog=*Cynog's llan.*

Llanhaithog. Near Orcop. *Llanithog* (?) *Glan-haidd* (pl. *heiddiau*), barley-bank.

Llanigon, near Hay. *Llan Eigon, Eigion.* (Cf. *Enniaun, Enanwin.*) The Church of *Egwin*(*us*).

Llanrosser. The prefix may here stand for *glan*=*shore, bank.*

Llanrothal. *c.* 1130 L.L., *Lann Ridol;* 1277 Reg. Ep., *Lanrethal;* 1291 T.E., *Lan Rothal;* 1345 P.R., *Lanruthel.* (?) St. Rothel.

Llanveyno. 1324 I.P.M., *Lanvenor; Llan-fenno*=*Benno's* Church.

Llanwarne, in Netherwent. 1086 D., *Ladguern ;* *c.* 1130, *Lannguern Teliao ha Dubric ;* *c.* 1250 Gl. C., *Lanwarein ;* 1291 T.E., *Lanwaran ;* 1330 I.P.M., *Lanwaryn ;* 1357 P. Pet., *Lanweran ;* 1316 N.V., *Lanwaran.*

Llanwonog. (?) St. Wenog's Church.

Lockely, near Hatfield. 1253 I.P.M., *Lokeley.* Literally *Luccanleah,* the pasture belonging to *Luca* or *Locca.*

Loden (r.). Perhaps it had for earlier form *Leoden.*

Logaston. Forms are lacking, but a p.n. such as *Leofgær* is pointed to.

Lontlond, in Archenfield.

Lontmohan(t). (a. 50 Hen. III.). The prefix here may involve *Llan* or *Llwyt* or *Lwyd.* *Mohant* is a p.n.

Loudischurche (Wm. de Carne). 1370. (?) *Lodowin's* Church.

Lowe, La (the). 1303. *i.e.* the burial-tump.

Lucton, near Yarpole, on the Lugg. 1278 Reg. Ep., *Loctone ;* 1373 I.P.M., *Lotton ;* 1381 I.P.M., *Lotene.*

Ludebroc, in Lyde. *c.* 1174 H. Ca. Ch., The *Lyde* Brook.

Lude. (See *Lyde.*)

Ludford, near the River Teme and Ludlow. 1086 D., *Ludeforde.*

Lugbridge. 1275 Reg. Ep., *Lugge-brugge.*

Lugg (r.). W., *Llugwy.* Glan *Llugwy* is a farm, at Mynachty, on this river.

Luggofre. 1300. The ferry over the River Lugg (see below).

Lugharness. South-east of Presteign. 1275 *Lugge ;* *c.* 1290, *Lugge ;* 1315, *Lugg.*

This river-name is probably identical with the far-distributed Celtic *Lug* (the Divinity, *Lug,* g. *Loga*), in *Lugdunum,* that is Gallia *Lugdunensis* (or, a district between the

Seine and the *Loire*, anciently *Liger*), *Lug-Dunum:* to-day, *Leyden, Lugi-dunum, Liegnitz* (in Silesia), also *Laon*, to which medieval texts give the same name, which variously turn into *Lyon, Lyons, Leon;* with related regions now termed *Lyonnais and Leonais* (*Lennensis*) around them, just as the one has begotten *Lugharneis* (in 1367 I.P.M.), *Loggarnes.* Another (I.P.M.) entry gives the following hamlets as comprised in the district of *Lugharnesse: Otecroft, Tyteley, Kascop, Wapelethe, Counde,* and *Rode.* Leland, *Itin.*, vol. iii., mentions that *Stepleton Castle* stood beside the *Lug* in *Lug Harneis.* As both *Lug* and *Ludd* were gods with different attributes, but both of them probably *water-divinities*, their names in local application need careful separation.

The identification, by means of a Romano-British inscription found at Lydney, of a *Sacrarium* belonging to the important Goidhelic Divinity *Nodons* (g. *Nodontos*) (O. Irish) *Nuadu*, Romanised to *Mars Nudens* [D.M. Nudente], a river-god, has led to the conjecture by some writers that as this god has also been recognised as the same with *Lludd*, of the *silver hand* (*llaw-ereint*), the place-names *Lydney, Ludebroc*, and *Lyde*, in that region (Cantref Coch), between Severn and Wye, are something more than coincidences. With this the present writer is in accord, and he would venture to go even further and suggest their connection with *Marti Olludios* of the Painswick (*Custom Scrubbs*) altar, found with several other inscribed altars in 1797.

Harness occurs in the same territorial sense in *Bromfield hernesse*, and in Gloucestershire *Berkeley-hurnes.* A.-S. *hyrne*, plural *hurnen, hernis, hirnes*, corner.

It may be mentioned here that an alluvial or flood-land near Lydney long bore its Welsh name of *Llyn Lliwan* (cf. Geoff. Monm., Lib. ix., c. vii.), *Linligwan.*

Lugwardine. 1086 D., *Lucuordne;* 1200 R.B., *Lowrthin;* 1233 P.R., *Lugwurthin;* 1272, *Lugwarde;* 1291 T.E., *Logwardin.* A.-S. *Weorthig* (d.), allied to *Weorth*, value, honour. A farm on the River Lugg.

Lulham, near Eaton Bishop. 1086 D., *Lulleham ; c.* 1218, *Lulleham.* The home of one Lulla. The form is genitival of the weaker form of *Lull-es.*

Luntley, near Dilwyn. 1086 D., *Lutelei* (?) ; *c.* 1130 (*Cart. Leom.*), *Lunthelega ;* 1243 T.N., *Luntel ;* 1257 Ch. R., *Luntelegh ;* 1303 F.A., *Lunteleya ;* 1337 I.P.M., *Lountele ;* 1372 Baskerville I.P.M., *vocata Lunteley.* There is no A.-S. p.n. answering to the prefix in Archenfield in the thirteenth century, nor can it represent the Scandinavian *lundr,* copse. Possibly it is a straightened-out *Luin-Teliau.*

Luston, near Eye. 1086 D., *Lustone ;* 1123 Ch. C., *Lustuna ;* 1291 T.E., *Luston ;* 1333 I.P.M., *Luston.* Perhaps the p.n. Lustwine is involved here under a shortened form.

Lycchgrave. 1219–34. In *Maghene* (Maund). No forms forthcoming.

Lyde. 1086 D. (1), *Leode,* (2) *Lude.* The *Leo*-form (probably genuine) does not recur ; almost all the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth-century forms (and these are abundant) exemplify *No.* 2 above.

In 1388 I.P.M., and (occasionally) onwards, we have *Luyde* as in 1478. The several manors, or moieties, were known as *Lude Beins, Beaumays* (*of Salop*), (*Benis, Beme, Brannyes,* N.V.), *Lude Wirchecrope* (1425), *Lude Muchegros* and *Lude Priour* (1447), *i.e. Monachorum,* and *Lude Godfraye,* 1316 N.V., L. Godefy. In addition there was *Luyde Saucy* (R. de Saucy). (Cf. under *Ledbury.*)

The term is a territorial one of uncertain origin, and may or may not be Anglo-Saxon.

Lye, near Amestrey (Upper and Lower). 1086 D., *Lecwe, Lege.* (Cf. *La Lee, Lacu,* a bailiwick in the Forest of Dene.) The Lea, A.-S. *Leah,* M.E. Lei (d.) *leie* and *Leye,* fallow-land (*G*=*y*). We should have expected from the first Domesday form "*Lese*" for *leswe* (d.), but *Lecwe* is no known derivative for A.-S. *leah.* Cf. also *La Lye* (co. Salop), *La Lagh,* now *Lythewood.*

Lymbury (m.). 1429 I.P.M. No forms forthcoming.

Lynch. A cultivation terrace, from A.-S. *hlinc*. *Lench* and *Link* are varieties of it.

Lyonshall. 1086 D., *Lenehalle*. (Castle and manor.) See under Eardisland, Kingsland, and Monkland. 1209 P.R., *Lenhaul*; 1227 Ch. R., *Lenhal*; 1241 T.N., *Lenhales*; 1287 Reg. Ep., *Leonhale*; 1303 F.A., *Leonales*; 1380 P.R. *Leonhales, Lounhales, Louenhales*; 1316 N.V., *Leonhales*.

There is only an apparent confusion between these forms. *Lone* in the terminals of *Erleslone, Lene* (see under Eardisland) is this same *Leon*, which, as a *prefix*, has a greater power of self-preservation than it has as a *suffix*. Hence, in the present instance, *Leon* has developed *Lyons*, as it has done (we have seen in *Lyoness* for *Leonais*) in more than one county and country. It has been adverted to earlier in this work that *Leonais* and St. Pol-de-Leon in Brittany (Cornish St. Pol) have also an early form of *Leuns* and *Liuns*. (Cf. Lihuns, at the opening of a valley in the neighbourhood of Chaulnes, in Santerre.) The prefix then is neither Saxon nor Welsh, but old Celtic. The second element, despite the Domesday form, represents rather the meadows *halas* (A.-S. healh) than the Hall or Castellum.

Lyston. Luston. Possibly from the A.-S. p.n. *Lyolfes*(*g*), for *Ligulfes*, shortened to *Liges*=*Lyes* (*g*=*y*). (See *Luston*.)

Madley. 1086 D., *Medelagie*; *c.* 1130 L.L., *Matle*; *c.* 1203 H. Ca. Ch., *Maddeleia*; 1220 H. Ca. Ch., *Magdale*; 1221, *Maddeleye*; *a.* 1298 H. Ca. Ch., *Madele*; 1483, *Maddeley*.

The L.L. writer, in an age much addicted to scribal plays of fancy, gives *Matle*, "*good place*," because St. Dubricius was born there. The W. *lle* is intended, *i.e.* place. So, too, the contemporary monks of Gloucester manufactured, with felicitous ingenuity, *Claudiocestre* for *Gleawanceaster*. The source of the Anglo-Saxon-looking

name is probably A.-S. *Maddanleah,* field belonging to *Madda.*

Maelienydd. A Cantred, marching with Elfael and Gwyrtheyrnion (*Angl. Melennith*). *Melenydd.* W. p.n. *Mailien,* sometimes shortened to *Mael.*

Maen. Meini (n.) stone (*W.*), occurs as frequent prefix.

Maerdy, *i.e.* (W.) *Maerdy.* Reeve's or steward's house.

Maes. Open field (n.), W., as in *Maischoit.* 1139 (*Ew. Har. Cart.*)=*Maes-y-Coed;* Erse. *Mag.* Br., *Maes Magus;* Gallic, *Magh.* The wood-field, now *Mescotts.*

Mainoaks, near Huntsham. 1086 D., (?) *Mainaure;* 1255 I.P.M., (?) *Manhere Brian* (m.).

Mailyerstrete, Hereford. Named from the *Mailleurs,* makers of *Mail* (armour).

Mainstone (*Court*), Ashperton. 1166 L.R., *Mamintone;* 1166 L.N., *idem;* 1305 Reg. Ep., *Maynestone;* 1322 Reg. Ep., *Masinton;* 1485 I.P.M., *Maynston.* The ton or farm of *Mægen* (A.-S. p.n.).

Malfield (or Mawfield). 1086 D., *Mal*felle; 1243 T.N., *Malcfeld;* 1430, *Mal*feld; 1483, *Mal*feld. This name is a translation (*Mais Mailochou*) of *Campus Malochu,* abbreviated in the T.N. form to Malc.

Mamilet (wood-name). *c.* 1130 L.L., on the River Gamber. (Cf. Mamhilad, co. Monmouth.)

Mannewites chirche. 1316 I.P.M. The Church of Manswith, A.-S. family-name.

Mansell Gamage (m.), near Weobley. *c.* 1046, *Malveshylle* (*Kemble C.D.,* No. 802); 1086 D., *Malneseue;* 1165 H. Ca. Ch., *Malveshulle;* 1292 I.P.M., *Malmeshulle;* 1291 T.E., *Malmeshull* Gamage; 1341 N.I., *Malmeshull;* 1391 I.P.M., 1340 H. Ca. Ch., *Malveshulle.*

Although the later forms seem to point to the p.n. *Mæghelm* for the prefix, the Domesday form and its predecessor point to *Maiulf* as the owner of the hill.

Mansell Lacy (m.). 1086 D., *Malveshille;* 1291 T.E., *Malmeshull* Lacy. The later forms of both manors chiefly follow the *m*-form.

In this name we have an interesting and exceptional example of sound-substitution: *v*, instead of dropping out (as in Elston for Elveston) after *l* and before *s* (*es*), is changed to *m*, and then assimilation converts this to *n*, as in Ma*n*sfield for Ma*m*sfeld, the final result becoming identical with that resulting from *Maloishall* in *Hope-Maloysel* (q.v.), now Hope-Mansel—a totally different name,

Marcle (m.). 1086 D., *Merchelai;* 1163 H. Ca. Ch., *Marcleia;* 1250, *Merkele;* 1291 T.E., *Marcle;* 1302 P.Q.W., *Markelee;* 1455 I.P.M., *Markull.* A.-S. *Mearc,* M.E. *Marche,* boundary (*confinium*). *Leah,* M.E. *Lei(d)leie.*

Marcle, *Much* and *Little.* A.-S. mearc-leah, boundary-field.

Marden (m.). 1086 D., *Maurdine;* 1138 Anc. Ch., *Mauordine;* 1200 L.R., *Mahurthin;* 1227 Ch. R., *Maworthin;* 1232 Cl. R., *Manwurthin;* 1272 I.P.M., *Maurdene.* The terminal is A.-S. Weorthig, farm-stead; the prefix uncertain.

Marlow, near Leintwardine. 1432 I.P.M., *Marilo.* Possibly corrupted from W. *Malros.*

Marston. There are three in the county, (1) near Pembridge, (2) Pencombe, (3) (?) Hampton Wafre. 1415, *Marston's Mill* (inorganic *s*); D., *Merestune.* The meaning in all is the usual one, *Marsh-ton.*

Marstow. (?) *Llan Martin,* L.L. 5½ miles north-east of Monmouth.

Mateurdin. In Elsedon Hundred, Domesday Survey.

Mathon. 1086 D., *Matma;* 1275 E.R., *Mathine;* 1399, *Mathin;* 1422, *Madine.* Unknown origin.

Maund. (1) Bryan, (2) Rose, (3) Whitchurch, (m.), near Bodenham. 1086 D., *Mage, Magge, Magene;* 1150 H. Ca. Ch., *Magen;* 1180 H. Ca. Ch., *Mahena;* 1219, *Maghene,*

Machna ; 1240 F.A., *Mawene ;* 1243 T.N., *Magene ;* 1303 F.A., *Mawene* (Nichol) ; 1316 N.V., *Magene ;* 1387 *Mavene ;* 1387, *Marshmavene* (*M.*).

The forms clearly reveal that the late terminal *d* is *augmentative* (giving an edge to a soft *vowel-and-liquid* combination), and, therefore, not organic or original. The early forms all point to a term (possibly territorial), the equivalent of Gaelic *Magh,* field ; Erse. *Mag* (*g.*), *maige,* plural *maga.* O.W. *ma,* field, later *mai,* common in Central South Wales.

With this may be connoted the Shropshire *Meigen,* formerly the name of a district in Powys-land, and possibly (1142) *Maghenne-ford* (*Manningford*) co. Wiltshire.

The relations of *g* to *y* and *y* to *w* or *v* are easily followed, as in the familiar family-name *Magnavilla* to *Maundeville* to (Mandeville), *Mawnefel.* In both names the *d* is intrusive, as in *Meend.* Meaning uncertain, but cf. Mayen (France), formerly Gaulish Magina.

Mayhill. (Really *Yarcledon,* q.v.) So-called on account of the there formerly-held May-day games.

Meer Common. 1338 I.P.M., *Mere.*

Meercourt (Allensmore). 1375 I.P.M., *Merecourte.*

Meresty. Forest of Dene. *Mær* for A.-S. (*ge*)*mære,* boundary. A.-S. stiga (*g*=*y*) ; M.E. stig, path.

Merryfield, Stone Lacy. As at Stroud (Gloucestershire), for (ge)mære, boundary. Merry-walks at Stroud was *Merryfield* in 1620. Earlier *Merrifield.*

Merryvale. 1271 Reg. Ep., *Myryvale ;* 1422 I.P.M., *Muryvale.* A.-S. *Myre,* M.E. *Müre,* mire.

Michaelchurch. Several places bear this favourite dedication, Lann Mihaegel.

Middleton (m.). 1085 D., *Miceltune ;* 1123 L.C., *Miclatuna ;* 1320 P. Reg., *Meteleton ;* 1243 T.N., *Mittleton.* A.-S.

mycel, great, large. Corrupted in the thirteenth century to *middle*.

Middlewood (m.). Member of Clifford Castle. 1086 D., *Midewde*.

Milleshope. *c.* 1310 L.C., 1333 I.P.M., *Myleshope ;* 1341 I.P.M., *Hopemile ;* 1387, *Mileshope* (m.). Probably *Mul's-hope*. A.-S. p.n.

Milton, near Pembridge. 1086 D., *Mildetune*. A common N.F. metathesis of *l* before *d*. The name here was certainly Middleton.

Mintridge, Stoke Lacy. See under *Mynidd*.

Mirian (m.). 1364 I.P.M. (*Jo.* de *Say*.)

Moccas (m.), on the Wye. 1086 D., *Moches ; c.* 1130 L.L., *Mochros* (apparently not to be trusted) ; 1243 T.N., *Mocres ;* 1265 Ch. R., *Mocros ;* 1291 T.E., *Mockers ;* 1316 F.A. and N.V., *Mokkas ;* 1344 I.P.M., *Mockes*. From (*W.*) *moch*, swine ; *rhos*, moor. (Cf. Br. Moch, penn-môch= pig's-head.)

Monkland (m.). Belonged to Abbey of Conches in Normandy. 1086 D., *Leine ;* 1123 L.C., *Leena ;* 1219 D.F., *Munklen ;* 1277 I.P.M., *Monkelen ;* 1291 T.E., *Monklene ;* 1316 F.A., *Moneclond ;* N.V., *Moneclone*.

Here once again we see the struggle of scribes with an ancient and not understood term. Consequently the varieties of *Leon* lead to *lone*, *lane*, and *land*. (See under *Lyonshall* and *Kingsland*.)

The monastery which gave this distinction to the name was Conches-en-Ouche, *arrond. d'Evreux* (*Eure*), 1035.

Monnington (m.). (Nine miles north-west of Hereford.) 1086, D. *Manetune*, *Manitune*. Two manors, one on Wye, and one in Straddel. Their names are the same in form and origin. The farm of Monna or Manna. A.-S. p.n. Welsh name is *Eglwys Wythwr*.

Monnow (r.). *c.* 1130 L.L., *Mynwy*, *Monnwy*, *Mingui*.

Of which *Mune* and *Mones* are the usual medieval forms in writing.

Moor, The. 1086 D., *More.* Cf. *Mora* Alani (m.), 1343; *Mora* Canonicorum, 1291, 1219 H. Ca. Ch.; *Mora* et Mota, 1461 I.P.M.; *More,* in Leon (*i.e. Lene*).

Moraston. (?) 1393 I.P.M., *Morewys.* This will meet Mr. E. Phillimore's *Meurig.* LL. *Cum Mouruc* (m. *Cwn Meurig*).

Mordiford (m.). 1291 T.E., *Mordeford;* 1339 I.P.M., *Merdiford;* 1341 N.I., *Mordiford;* 1354 I.P.M., *Mortford.* Anglo-Saxon in neither element. The last form points to W. *ffyrd,* M.E. *ford.* Probably it is intended as a transcript of Welsh *Rhyd-Mordwy.*

Moreton (m.). 1086 D., *Moretune;* N.I., *Morton* Geffray; m. *juxta Logge; Parva* and *Magna* m. A.-S. *mor, moor,* or *marsh, tūn,* farm.

Mount and Mont. These occur occasionally where the Norman has occupied a strong place.

Morffe (*forestæ Custodia*). 1370 I.P.M.

Muchegrosse. 1476. 1275 I.P.M., *Mucegros.* Modern W. *Mucros,* swinemore. 1086 D., *Mucelgros* (R. de). Here the Norman scribe has played with the name, and converted it into the equivalent of *Littlegreat.*

Munesley (m.). 1086 D., *Moneslai, Muneslai, Muleslage.* Abundant forms give continuously *Mune* and *Mone, Moune.* The A.-S. p.n. is *Monn* here, to whom belonged a meadowland.

Mynde, The. Much Dewchurch. 1298 I.P.M., *Muned.*

Myntridge. *Muntryche* (1262). In Stoke Lacy.

Mynydd. W. mountain or ridge. (Cf. Long Mynde), pronounced *Munith.* There can be no doubt that two totally different terms, W. *Myned, Mynde,* a ridge, and *Myend, mean,* A.-S. *mæne* for *gemæne=common* (*G. gemain*), (*meane-*

lands, common (*unenclosed*) *meads, meen-lands*), have become confused owing to similarity. *Munede* seems to have been a scribal form acting for either. (Cf. *Glos. Pl.-N.*, xix., xx.) Fowe-*menede*, Pl. B. for Fowmynd. Mynydd is related to L. *Mons, Meend* is *not.*

Mynydd Ferdun. L.L., Ferdun's hill. *Money-farthing.*

Nant. W. Seems to correspond closely with M.E. *Bach,* valley with water-flow. It occurs in a sufficient number of surviving names in the county, as *Nant-yr-Esk, Nant-y-Waun* (*gwaun*). Another form is *neint.*

Nash. Domesday Hundred, but in co. Worcester to-day (Peckenham and Droitwich). 1086, *Naisse:* 1291 T.E., *Nasse;* 1357 I.P.M., *Nashe.* Probably this is A.-S. *Næss* (as at Great and Little Ness, in co. Salop), *Nash,* for *atten-Ash.* The meaning is at the Ash-tree. The prothetic *N* exemplified, as in Nokes, Norchard, etc.

Netherley. 1399 I.P.M., *Netherleigh.*

Netherwood. 1382 I.P.M. (m.) 1331, *Netherwode.*

Newebold (m.). 1338 I.P.M. A.-S. *bold,* a house.

Newton. Many new-to(w)ns, Welsh and English. 1086, *Newentone, Niweton* (d.).

Noakes, The. In Avonbury. *La Nokes,* 1451. Prothetic *N, atten-oke.* In Brockesasch, 1382, 1343.

Norle. D.D., *Knorle, nurl,* a lumpy place. *Blacknorle* (Marstow).

Norton, Canon(s). 1086 D., *Nortune;* 1334 I.P.M., *N. Canonicorum.*

Nurdens, near Woolhope.

Nunsland. See Eardisland.

Ocle. (1) **Pychard,** (2) **Lyre.** Both manors deriving from the usual A.-S. Ac-leah, oak-tree, meadow [unlike Oakle in Gloucestershire, which has Occan-lea for an early form for p.n. *Occa,* as in Occanslow]. 1100 D.F., *Aclea;* 1216 F.F., *Ocull.*

The **Pichards** were tenants in fee of the Honor of Brecon in 1210 in this county. The Abbey of **Lire** (or **Lyra**) 1046, arrond. d'Evreux.

Olchon (r.). L.L., *Elchon.*

Onny (r.). 1250, *Onye.* The older name for the Pinsley brook. A formerly common river-name or stream-term of great antiquity. The early Saxon forms of the name, unless we assume the hypothesis set forth under *Honey-Moor* (q.v.) as having been Saxonised to square with A.-S. *hunig,* are totally wanting. It may be remarked for the same hypothesis that it is the only one, so far, that will account for the terminal "*y,*" which cannot here mean "*ieg,*" A.-S. *island* or *marshy land.* It would appear to be the same with Onnan in C.S. 187, A.D. 759, *Onnanford* (*i.e. Andover(s)ford*) to-day (co. Gloucestershire).

Ordesleye. 1357 I.P.M. (Fee). The lea or mead of Ordeah.

Orcop (m.). ? 1086 D., *Hercop ;* 1138 A.C., *Orcop ;* 1212 R.B., *Oretop ;* 1253 Ch. R., *Horcop* in *Hirchinfelde ;* 1245 Ch. R., *Horcopp ;* 1280 Reg. Ep., *Orkhope ;* 1291 T.E., *Orcoppe ;* 1318 Reg. Ep., *Orecop ;* 1380 P.R., *Orecope.* The Hope or valley belonging to *Oeric.* A.-S. p.n.

Orleton (m.). 1086 D., *Auretone, Alretune, Oretune ;* 1243 T.N., *Alreton ;* 1310 L.C., *Alreton ;* 1333 I.P.M., *Orletone.* A.-S. Aler, *Aldertree.* The prefix intends the *g. pl.* of *Alr, i.e. Alra.* Farm by or at the Alder trees.

Orls, The (f.n.). The Alders. In Salop the form is "*the Arles.*"

Ossewoldesey. 1456 I.P.M. Near Hereford. The "*ss*" is only graphic. Oswald's isle.

Oysterlowe. 1390 I.P.M. Perhaps for Austerlow, the east-mound.

Overcourt. 1379 I.P.M. Upper Court.

Overhalle, Ledbury. 1345 P.R. The over or upper hale. (Cf. Overbury).

Pant. W., a hollow.

Parks. At Linton the two (De Laci) fees of Talbot and de Longchamp each owned *a Park.* 1316 N.V., *Parke.*

Parkhold. Court-o'-Park. *De Parco* in Pixley and Monesley. 1148 *Parchulle, Park Hill.*

Parlbrook (r.). Weston-Beggard. Probably for *Purl*-brook.

Parton, near Eardisley. 1377 P.R. (same). *Pear-ton.*

Patshall, near Kimbolton. *c.* 1270 Gl. C., *Pateshulle;* 1243, *Padhulle, i.e.* the hill owned by Patt.

Paunton. 1277 Reg. Ep., *Pauntone;* 1353 I.P.M., *Paunton* (John Dobeyn); perhaps Padwines-ton or farm.

Pedwardine. 1086 D., *Pedewrde;* 1284 *Petewardyn;* 1346 F.A., *Pedewardyn.* The worthyn or farm of Peda.

Pembridge (m. and castle). 1086 D., *Penebruge;* 1100, *Penebrugge* [another Penebrugge lies near Skenfrith, co. Monmouth]; 1211 L.R., *Penebruge;* 1291 T.E., *Penebrigge. Penne* is also a stream-name, and may be so here.

Pen. W. *Pen-au,* head or top. Frequent as a first element in Welsh place-names. There are other Pen prefixes. Another form of it is *Peon.*

Pencumbe. 1166 L.R., *Pencumbia;* 1263 Gl. C., *Pencumbe, Penecumbe, Penycombe;* 1283 Ch. R., *Penecumbe;* 1316 N.V., *Pencommbe.* It may be Pen-y-cwm, head of the combe.

Pencreig, on the Wye, near Ross. L.L., *Penn Creic.*

Pencoyd. A very frequent place-name in South Wales. W. *Coed-ydd=wood.* Crest of the wood.

Penebecdoc. 1086 D. On the border of Archenfield.

Pengethly. 1397 I.P.M., *Penkthelin* and *Penkethelin,*

Penkethlyn. The endeavour to render *thl*-sound for written *ll* is responsible for the misspelling of *Celli*, wood or forest.

Pennant, near Orcop. *Pen*, head; *nant*, valley.

Pennoxton. (?) 1383 I.P.M., *Peylenok.*

Penrose. L.L., *Penn Ros.* W. *pen*, head; *Rhos*, moor.

Pentelow (brook).

Pentre. Pentre(f), village or stead.

Penyard. Hill east of Ross. 1373, *Penyard* (*parcus*); *c.* 1228 F.A., Lax *Peniard*, otherwise 1302 P.Q.W., *Peniord*; 1453, *Penyord.* W. *gerddi*, garth or garden.

Pen-y-Park. *Parc* (W.), Park. Cf. *Penpark*, near Bristol.

Perry and **Periton** are from A.-S. pyrig, M.E. Pere. Pirie, a pear-tree. Also *Pirye*, a manor. 1353 I.P.M.

Popesmere. L.C. 1310.

Petevine's Castell. 1373 I.P.M. This was a De Bohun Fee, and may have been garrisoned by soldiers of Poitou.

Peterstow. Two miles north of Ross. 1130, *Lann petyr*; L.L., *Lannbedr*; I.P.M., *Petrastowe*; 1243 N.I., *Petrestowe.* Place of Peter, (?) a hermit. (Cf. *Briavelstowe.*)

Pilleth-on-Lugg. (?) 1086 D., *Pelelei.*

Pinsley-brook. *Pin* is an owner whose name has become attached to the River Onny, by reason of his lea or field bordering it.

Pipe (m.). 1086 D., *Pipe*; 1166, *Pipa*; 1225, *Dela Pipe*; 1428, *Pype.* The church belonged to the Priory of St. Guthlac. This name may refer to a narrow dingle, or possibly to a wild-fowl decoy. A.-S. *Pipe*, a pipe.

Pistelbrook. Kentchurch. 1327 Ch. R., *Pistelbroch. Pistel* as a p.n. occurs in 1066 B.CS., *Pisteles-æc* (*oak*). Possibly a monk or man has given his name to the brook. This has often happened in Wales. On the other hand, there is no

possessive token here, and in co. Glamorgan occurs *Pistyll-golen*, where the first element=*cataract*.

Pixley. 1086 D., *Picheslei*; 1243 T.N., *Pikesley* (Clinton); 1323 I.P.M., *Pykesleye*; 1370 I.P.M., *Pychesleye*, the A.-S. p.n. Picc, indicating ownership of a meadow. Not from *Pict*, or from A.-S. *Peoht*.

Pleck, The (f.n.). Applied to plots or strips of ground. A.-S. Plæcca, M.E. Plecke. (Cf. *Glos. Pl.-N.*)

Plegeliet (Bromyard). 1086 D. and *Plegelget*, *Plegelgate* =Pleghelm(s) gate.

Pletune. 1086 D.

Pontenyws. W. *Pont* from Latin *Pons*, *pontis*. The suffix is obscure.

Pont Hendre. *Hendref*, winter-house by the bridge (*pont*).

Pontrilas (see *Eylston*). ? A modern name for the place. This is the *Eylston*, *Helyston* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, later giving the name (1577) *Elstones* bridge (Saxton's Map). Not *Elwistone* in Harewood, Domesday Survey (q.v.), which must refer to p.n. *Ælfwine*, while this Eylston must refer to Æyl, short form of *Æthel*. *Lit.* *Pon-tri-las*=bridge-three-streams=*glais* (n.).

Pontshill, Weston-under-Penyard. ? *Paunt*shill. 1086 D., *Panchille*.

Pont-vaen. Stone-bridge.

Pont-y-pina. Pîn=fir-tree (*bridge*).

Pontys, near Clodock.

Pool Hollock. Halleck.

Portfield, Hereford. 1086 D. (T.R.E.), *Hereford Port*; Gl. C., twelfth century, *Portfelde*; 1272 I.P.M., *Portfelde*; 1316 N.V., *Porteley*. *Port* here is, as usual, the borough-town. (Cf. *Portmeda*, Gloucestershire, *Port-way*, *Portham-mede*.)

Poston, on the River Dore, near Vowchurch. 1086 D.,

Poscetenetune; 1100 Gl. C., *Postone;* (twelfth or thirteenth century) D. Ct., *Puseyton,* undated (Dugdale, *Mon.,* v. 555); 1300 I.P.M., *Puston* in Straddel; 1316 N.V., *Poston.* (See Nennius, 48-49, Edit. Stevenson.) Mr. Stevenson refers the origin of the first element in this name to a Welsh p.n. *Pasgen,* (older) *Pascent,* from a Latin *Pascentius.* (Cf. *Pascandala-villa,* Polypticque de L'Abbé Irminon, iii. 401.) (Cf. *Pasgen,* son of Gwyrtheyrn.) An inscription (sixth-seventh century) bears the name of *Pascent,* at Tywyn, co. Merioneth.

Presteign, Hereford. 1459, *Preste heinde;* 1293, *Zeyne, Zyne.* *Eign* here is from A.-S. eg-ig, plural eigen. (Cf. Addit. Ch., 19–793, A.D. 959, *fotes eige.*) The meaning is Priest's islands.

Preston, on Wye (and Wynne). 1086 D., *Prestetune* A.-S. *Preosta, priests* (*g*). The farm of the priests.

Pridewood, on Humber.

Priddleton, on Humber. 1333 I.P.M., *Purtleton, Purtlinton, Purtlet.* Probably *Beorhthelm('s)* ton. (*In Gretrewes* H., Domesday Survey.)

Prill (r.). More common in the form of Purl.

Puddleston (m.), in Ulfei Hundred. 1086 D. *Pillesdune;* 1123 Ch. C., *Puttesdone;* 1243 T.N. *Puclesdun* (*c* probably for *t,* cf. *Putelesdon,* 1360); 1307 I.P.M., *Puddelsdon;* 1341 N.I., *Pudlesdon.* The p.n. was probably Pyttel, as in Pyttelesforda, co. Somerset, C.S. 1074 (A.D. 961), and the meaning—the down or hillside belonging to Pyttel. The T.N. form has merely a scribal *c* for *t.*

Putley (m.), near Aylton. 1086 D., *Poteslepe.* It is here as with the Domesday form of Leominster (*i.e.* Leofminstre), we get no recurrence of the peculiar Domesday form, although many good forms are to hand, and the singularity is agressive. This gives rise to consideration, less important in the present instance than in the other case. *Postlip* in Gloucestershire may merely have been in the Norman writer's mind (*i.e. Potes lepe,* D.), where the first element is likewise the A.-S. pn. *Pott,*

owner of a meadow. Our other forms are 1195 R.O., *Putelea;* 1291 T.E., *Potteleye;* 1303 F.A., *Putteleye.* *Lepe* cannot suggest *hlype.* All the early forms of the Gloucestershire *Postlip* show *lepa* and *lepe.* In Lippiat, on the other hand, they show *Lype, Lupe, Lypp,* and often the doubled *pp.* But Lyppiatt and Postlip are twenty miles apart.

Putson (m.), Hereford. 1243 T.N., *Puteston;* 1342 P.R., *Puteston.* The same A.-S. p.n. as in the previous place-name, *i.e.* Pott.

Pyon (m.). (*Canon's* and *King's.*) 1086 *Pione, Peune* (m.); 1234 *Pyonne;* 1245, *Little Pyone;* 1284, *Kingspenne;* 1292, *Kyngespeyne;* 1316 F.A., *Kingespene;* 1323, *Kyngespewene;* 1340, *Kingespenne;* N.V., *Pyonia Canonicorum;* 1345 P. Reg., *Canon Pyon;* 1399 P. Reg., *Peonne.* W. *Peon, Pen,* Head (of land).

Quarrels, sometimes *the Quarrels,* in Shropshire and elsewhere, means usually quarries of stone.

Queach, The. D.D. (1) A boggy piece of land, (2) a spinney in a corner of land.

Querentune (m.), Domesday Survey. 1086 D., 1344 I.P.M., *Querendon;* 1166 L.N., *Querendone.* Perhaps *Curan,* a rare name; that of an East Anglian moneyer, as Quaran (*Onom.*). Also of Anlaf *Cuaran,* of Ireland. (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*)

Radlow. 1086 D., *Radelau* (H.); 1231 Cl. R., *Radeslou;* 1346 F.A., *Radelowe.* More probably here an early name than the colour. A.-S. p.n. Radan-*hlæw,* M.E. *Lawe,* a barrow or tump.

Ravenshull. 1388 I.P.M. There was a spot or house in Hereford known as *Ravensworthy.* *c.* 1150 H. Ca. Ch.

Ravensiege. A.-S. *hraefnes-iga.* (Perhaps a p.n. here. If so, A.-S. *Hræfn,* island belonging to *Hræfn.*)

Ravensore. 1334 I.P.M., *Ravens-over.* A.-S. *Ofer,* bank, shore. Same prefix as before.

Rea, The, Acton Beauchamp. *La Ree* (*juxta King's Stanford*), 1449. Here it means an enclosed portion of the river, which gave name to the local tenant, John de la *Ree*.

Redmarley (m.). 1210, *Rudmarlega ;* 1210 L.R., *Redmarlega ;* 1401, *Rydmarleye*. The possessive appears in none of the forms, hence *Rademar* and its other form *Rædmær* (very rare names) are not likely, and as we find a certain Geoffrey of Abitot holding "*in Rudmerlega apud la mara*" (*c.* 1220), it is certain that the mere there was the *reed* or else the *red mere*.

Reeds, The. Reed-beds. *Reedes* plural of M.E. *rēod*.

Reshale, near Shelwick. 1270 Reg. Ep., *Reshale*. Perhaps originally *Reveshale, i.e.* Sheriff's land.

Rhiwlas, near Titley. *Rhiw* (W.), slope or ascent. (*G*)*las*, verdant.

Rhôs. W., moor or heath. In Glamorganshire it has become "*roose*."

Rhyd-Helig. *Ridhelie*. Above Hay on the River Wye. Ford of the Willow. (L. *Salix*, W. *Helyg*.)

Rhyd. W.. a ford. A common prefix, with river terminals.

Richards Castle (m.). 1086 D., *Auretone* (Shropshire border). The Castle of Richard FitzScrob and his descendants.

Riddox, The, near Weobley. (? *Ruddoc*.)

Ridgemore. *c.* 1195, *Rughemore* (a wood in Bredwardine).

Rinega, La. 1186–98 H. Ca. Ch. Probably an *ey*ot in Cradley Brook.

Risebury. 1086 D., *Riseburye ;* 1123 Ch. C., *Risebiria ;* 1279 R.E., *Russebury ;* 1327 I.P.M., *Riseburie*.

A personal-name usually, but not always, is carried with the *beorg* or *beorh*. What that name was is not possible to say. Otherwise A.-S. *hris*, a twig ; Prov. E. *Rise*, brushwood.

Riscob. In Elsedune Hundred. 1086, *Ruiscope.* The prefix=A.-S. *risce,* M.E. *rüsche, reed*; and the terminal is *Hope,* a valley. (Cf. *Ruyshale.*)

Rochford (m.). 1086 D., *Recesford* (in Ulfei Hundred), on the Teme. 1272 *Rachesford;* 1316 F.A., *Ratchfford;* N.V., *Rattcheford;* 1355 I.P.M., *Racheford;* 1388 I.P.M., *Recchesford.* Prefix of unknown origin.

Rock (h.), near Mordiford. 1307 I.P.M., *Roke;* 1343, *Roke.*

Rodd, The (f.n.). A land-term used in Cornwall and Glamorganshire.

Rodd, near Kington. 1356 I.P.M., *Rode.*

Ross. 1086 D., *Rosse.* Later forms usually *Ros* (P. Reg.), *Ros,* W. *Rossan-ar-Wye.*

Rotherwas (m.), near Dinedor. *Retrowas* (Norman scribe avoids the *th*); 1243 T.N., *Rudrewas;* 1316 F.A., *Rotherwas;* 1378 I.P.M., *Rotherweos.* The terminal in *weos* and *was*= A.-S. *was,* slime, oaze, M.E. *waise, wose* (Pr. P.).

This is usually referred to A.-S. *hrither, reother,* ox or other horned animal, and the suggestion seems to lend itself to a comfortable etymological wallow. There occurs, however, in mid-twelfth century a "*Rother* in *Irchenefeld,*" which suggests quite another possible origin, namely a stream-term of unknown significance, in which not even the A.-S. p.n. HRothere plays any part. Spellings are not infrequently due to false analogy.

Rowbury. *c.* 1150 Br. C., *Ruberh, Ruebergh, Rueberch.* A.-S. *Ruh,* M.E. *ruh,* rough.

Rowden (in Plegeliet Hundred). 1086 D., *Ruedene;* 1243 T.N., *Rugedon, Rogedon;* 1303 F.A., *Roudon.* "*Den*" and "*don*" very often struggle for survival, not as between A.-S. *dean,* a vale and A.-S. *Dun,* down, but between the inabilities and capabilities of learned scribes of old time, who did not

visit the localities. A.-S. *ruh*, M.E. *ruh*, rough, meaning here *rugged* vale.

Rowlestone. (Hundred of Wermelowe.) 1272, *Rolveston;* 1291 T.E., *Radulphi villa, i.e. Rolfs ville;* 1384, *Roulleston;* 1406 I.P.M., *Rolleston.*

Rudhall. 1263 Gl. C., *Reodhale, Roedhale, Redehale.* M.E. *(H)reod*, reed-bed; *hale*, mead.

Rushock, near Kington. *Russhok, Ruschok.*

Ruuenore. 1086 D. (in Ulfei Hundred). *Rovenore* occurs in other counties, and means "*a rugged bank,*" but this particular Domesday manor has eluded identification so far.

Ryton. 1316 N.V.

St. Devereux. (Ecclesia.) *Dubricius* is a Latinised form of name. O.W. Dubric, Dibric. The sixth-century saint and martyr commemorated in this place-name was Bishop of Llandaff. The church here was valued in 1363 as a living of five marks p.a. when William Duraunt held it. (Cf. *Descript. Pembr.*, i. 207, note 4.) The original name has been transformed into the Norman *Devreux.*

St. Weonards, a chapelry. *c.* 1130 L.L., *Lann Sant Guainerth* [*Wenarch* and *Wainard* are other forms of the name]; *c.* 1150 Br. C., *St. Wenarch de Herchenefield;* 1356 H. Ca. Ch., *St. Waynard.*

Sallonere, La. 1227 Ch. R., "of our forest of Trivel up to the gate of Strathel." Probably (but not certainly) for Fr. *Saliner*, salt-pan, Lat. *Salina.*

Sallys, near Kinnersley. 1357 I.P.M., *Saucy;* 1483 I.P.M., *Sauce.* Willow-island, or point of Sallows. A.-S. *Sealh.* Norman influence effected the change to *u*, as permanently in the Gloucestershire vill *Saul*, and in *Staunton* for *Stanton.*

Sapey and Oversapy (m.). 1210 L.R., *Sapi ;* 1291 T.E., *Sapy ;* 1307 I.P.M., *Sapye ;* 1407, *Sapye ;* 1452, *Sapye.*

This can have nothing to do, as some writers assert, with A.-S. *Saepige,* spruce-fir. No " *bois de sap* " was grown here until after 1186.

Saple. 1316 N.V. ? for *Caple* (q.v.).

Sargeberie (m.). 1086 D.

Sarnesfield, near Kinnersley. 1086 D., *Sarnesfelde ;* 1123 L.C., *Sernesfelda ;* 1166 L.R., *Cernefeld S. ;* 1166 L.N., *Sernefeld, Sirnefelde ;* 1291 T.E., *Sarnefeld ;* 1305 I.P.M., *Sarnefeld ;* 1377 P.R., *Sarnesfeld ;* 1316 F.A., *S.-Roger ;* 1377 P.R., *S.-Coffyn.*

The *s* possessive to appearance may nevertheless be *inorganic* here, and we may have a *cerne-stream.* (Cf. *Cerney(s)wick.* Hugo de *Sarinis=Cerneze,* K.C., 1286.)

Scar (Nash), near Presteign. Probably for W. *Ysgôr=scotard,* rampart, *bulwarks.*

Scotard 1292, *Scotard Hide ;* 1293, *Scotodes-hide.* These are probably identical, and represent the rare name *Scotheard* (given by Förstemann).

Scotege-in-Lyde. *c.* 1173 H. Ca. Ch. Forest of Dene.

Scuteresforde, in Forest of Dene, near Bicknor. 1281 P.F., *Schutarsford, Scetaresforde ;* 1323, *Scethechesford.* Probably the ford of one *Sceafthere,* A.-S. p.n

Scutterdine, near Mordiford. Probably refers to A.-S. p.n. above (*Scotheard*).

Sellac (h.), near Ross (4½ miles). See Baysham. 1130 L.L., *Lann Sulac ;* 1300 I.P.M., *Selak* and Baysham. Lel., *Itin.* Beysham, *alias Cellach.*

Senecaump (m.). 1288 I.P.M. Variants are not forthcoming. The terminal is the rather scarce Normanised *camp,* appropriated from Latin *campus=field,* by the Anglo-Saxon.

Shelwick, near Holmer. 1086 D., *Scelwicke ;* 1316 F.A., *Holmare Shelwyk ;* 1325 Reg. Ep., *Scelwicke ;* 1330, *Nether-*

shelwyke ; 1429 I.P.M., *Shelwyke ;* 1474, *Shelwyks.* Perhaps A.-S. *Scylfe, shelf,* for *f* would drop naturally before *wyke*. The allusion would be to the position of the farm or wick.

Shirley, near Aymestrey. 1086 D., *Sirelei.*

Shirl Heath. 1399 I.P.M., *Sherlythe* (Kingsland).

Sirland. *c.* 1310, *Serlond* (in Hereford). ? *Serlo's lane.*

Shobdon. 1086 D., *Scepedune ;* 1243 T.N., *Solledune ;* 1291 T.E., *Sobbedon ;* 1341 N.I., *Shobbedon.* The meaning is the down or hillside belonging to *Scheobba.* A.-S. p.n.

Shotegrove. 1370 I.P.M. Perhaps a wood with glades for "*Cockshoots.*"

Showle Court, Yarkhill. 1482 I.P.M., *Scholl.*

Shucknall Hill. Perhaps Hale or meadow of Sceucca, the Devil, possibly in the sense of *haunted.* "*The Devil's piece or bit.*"

Shutton, near Mansel Gamage. 1291 T.E., *Schytrincton ;* 1333, *Schurrington ;* 1345, *Shulyngton ;* 1342, *Shutinton.* Probably the personal-name pointed to is the rare *Sceotheri.*

Sidnal (h.), in Pencombe. 1231 Cl. R., *Sudenhal ;* 1263 Gl. C., *Suthenhale, Sudenhale, Sudenehale.* A.-S. p.n. *Syda-an*(*g*).

Silvetone. 1281 Reg. Ep. 1323 Reg. Ep., *Silvington.* Perhaps from A.-S. p.n. Sywolf, for Sigewulf, resulting in *Siulf.*

Skenfrith. 1231, *Scenesfrit, Sceynefrith, Sckenesfrith.* O.W. *Ynys Gynwraidd, i.e. Cynwraidd's isle.*

Slaughter, near Whitchurch. 1340 I.P.M., *Sloughtre.* A.-S. *slag-treo,* (the) sloe-tree. (Cf. the same name in *Glos. Pl.-N.*)

Snodhill (m. and castle) of "Hugh, the Ass." Later, of Chandos. 1280 Reg. Ep., *Snothulle ;* 1291 T.E., *Snodhull ;* 1341 N.I., *Snodhull ;* 1445 I.P.M., *Snoodehill ;* 1468 I.P.M.,

Snodehill. Apparently from a p.n. *Snodda,* as in *Snoddanfleot* (B. CS. 949).

Snogsash, near Foy. 1375 I.P.M., *Snoggeshasshe.* The Ash-tree belonging to *Snocc.*

Solcroft. 1259 Ch. A.-S. *Suhl, syle, mire.*

Sollers-Hope or **Hope-Solers.** 1086 D., *Hope.* The De Solers came temp. Hen. I., lived at Postlip, near Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, and built the surviving chapel there. Numerous descendants keep the name in the village of Shepscombe, Gloucestershire, a fact paralleled by the survival of le Brets, *i.e.* Birts, at Pitchcombe and Painswick since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Sough, in Stoke Lacy.

Sponford (Marsh), near Ledbury. 1278 Reg. Ep. (Cf. Spoonbed, *Glos. Pl.-N.*)

Stanage (a Mortimer lordship). 1086 D., *Stanege;* 1252 Ch. R., *Stanegge;* 1294 I.P.M., *Stanegge;* 1420 I.P.M., *Stanage.* A.-S. *ecg, edge,* descriptive of escarpments.

Stane, near Didley. 1086 D. (*i.e.* Stone).

Stanford, Bishop and King's. 1274 I.P.M., *Staunford Regis;* 1275 I.P.M., *Kyngestannord* (*Meronda Pygod*); 1316 F.A., *Stanford Episcopi.* A paven ford, or one secured with stone.

Stanford Falcon. 1335 I.P.M., *S.-Faucon;* 1333, *Stainfros Faccon;* 1316, *Staundefords-Faucon.* The suffix, not being a personal name, remains of obscure origin.

Stank, The. N.F., *Estanc,* tank or pool of a mill.

Stanway. 1086 D., *Stanewei;* 1294, *Stonewey.*

Stapleton. 1272, *Stepelton;* 1364, *Stepelton;* 1294, *Stepelton.* A.-S. *Stepel,* high-tower or steeple. Assimilated with *staple,* a stake.

Staunton, on (1) Wye, and on (2) Arrow, and (3) S. Logerous (Robert Golafres). (2) 958 *in Pago Magesætna*

(near Pembridge); (1) 1086 D., *Standune;* (3) 1372, *Staunton* L.

As usual, though not always, the Norman nasal *u* has survived. *Ton* and *don* and *den* are the terminals, though to No. 1 belong especially the *dons* resulting from D. *dune* (*d.*). A.-S. *stan*=*stone.* The sense is *at stone down.*

Steple, La (f.n.). 1373. Probably *staple* is intended.

Stiches. In Eardisland.

Stikkeford. 1280 Reg. Ep.

Stobell, The (f.n.). A place where the well-known game of stool-ball was played (seventeenth century).

Stodhordesmore. 1310 L.C., *i.e. Stutheard's-more.*

Stokken, *Stocking, Stockley, Stocklow, Stockwell,* from A.-S. Stoc, a place often denoting that part of a farm where cattle are raised. Also a staked enclosure.

Stockton, near Kimbolton. 1086 D., *Stoctune.*

Stoke Bliss is named from a family Blez (*Bles*) that held a manor in the thirteenth century called *Stoke,* near Sapey.

Stoke Edith (*Eddied*). 1174 D. Fr., *Edithstoc;* 1302, *Edithstoke;* 1086 D., *Stockes.* A.-S *stoc*=place.

Stoke Lacy belonged to Walter de Laci, 1080.

Stoke Prior (in Plegeliet Hundred). 1086 D., *Stoches.*

Stowe, 1305. A member of Brompton Manor. A.-S. *stowe*=place.

Straddle and Stradelege. 1086 D., *Vallis Stradelie.* Also there are the forms *Stradilei, Stratelei,* and *Straddel.* An exceedingly interesting word, the early (or Norman) forms of which show how fatally easy it has been all along to confuse words relating to *Strath, Ystrad,* flat river-land, with those deriving from the appropriated *L. Strata,* through W. *Ystred,* (English) *Street.* But it is, in reality, upon the terminal rather than on the prefix that interest centres. For it cannot, as a district-name (which it is) carry any but an

important suffix, possibly a vanished river-name. The name that would cover all the varieties would be something like *Elai, Elei, Ely.*

Stradway. 1277 *Ystrad-yw;* 1355, *Estredewy;* 1373, *Stradeweye;* 1428, *Estretedewy.*

Here has taken place a double (non-Welsh) scribal alteration, first from Ystrad Yw, so that the terminal came to resemble *dewi* (*David*); the second, from *wy,* through *wey* to *way,* as though an English suffix in place of the *Yw* brook. The meaning is *Strath,* or flat land of *Ew.* Confusion between Lat. *Strata* and *Ystrad* may have come about partly owing to the disappearance in late Latin of the difference between long and short *a.*

Street (h.), Kingsland. 1086 D., *Lestret;* 1243 T.N., *Strete;* 1406 I.P.M., *Stret;* 1316 N.V., *Stret.*

Stretford. 1086 D., *Stratford.* A.-S. *Straet-ford.*

Stretton, (1) **Grandison,** (2) **Sugwas.** 1086 D., *Stratone;* 1291, *Stretton.* Ton or farm beside the "*Street*" or Roman way. The Grandisons were lords of the manors of Dymock and Oxenhale, co. Gloucester, and were married with De Geneville. For No. 2, see under *Sugwas.*

Strongwood (m.), near Knill. 1086 D., *Stivingeurdin;* 1186 L.R., *Strawordin;* 1243 T.N., *Strongeworthe;* 1250 I.P.M., *Strongeforde;* 1278 I.P.M., *Strongford.*

The place appears to have borne both names at one and the same time. (See Vol. i., 281–4, *Glos. C.*) Origin of the first element is uncertain. Both medieval terminals (*i.e., Worthin* and *ford*) have given way to *wood.*

Suckley (m.). 1086 D., *Suchelie.* A five-hide Domesday manor; 1272, *Suckley.* The meaning is the meadow of *Sucga.* A.-S. p.n.

Sufton (m.), at Mordiford. Gl. C., *Sulftona;* 1390 I.P.M., *Suffton.* Possibly *Siwulf(es) ton.*

Sugwas (m.). 1086 D., *Sucwessen;* 1344 P. Reg., *Sugwas;*

1475 I.P.M., *Sugwas*. The first element is indeterminate, and the forms do not give a *p.n.* The suffix is A.-S. *was*, slime ; *ooze*, M.E. *waise* and *wose*.

Sulcet (m.). 1086 D.

Summergild (r.n.), near Leominster, a tributary of the Lugg. *c.* 1310, *Sumergeilde*. 1600 *Somergil*. Part of it is known as Hindwell brook.

Sunemerse. *c.* 1310 L.C.

Swanescure. 1316 I.P.M. (? Kyre.)

Sutton. South ton, near Marden. 1086 D., *Sudtune*, Sutton-walls.

Swanston, near Dilwyn. 1086 D., *Sueneston ;* 1243, *Swenestane ;* 1292, *Swineston*. A.-S. p.n. Swegen's ton or farm.

Swinemoor, near Madley. Considered to represent the W. district-term *Muchros* (q.v.).

Syferwast (Little Cowarne). Abundant evidence of this curious name is forthcoming from the records. 1344 P. Reg., *Siffrewast ;* 1344 P. Reg., *Cifrewast ;* 1346, *Cyffrewast ;* 1346, *Cyphrewest, Sifurwas*.

The trouble caused by such a name to the scribes is proof of its unfamiliar sound, and evidences that the sources of it were not English. But the tale of these does not stop here. **Sifregast, Sefreiwast, Suflegest, Siflewast, Sifflewast** gives us a more complete notion of the perplexity caused by such a family-name.

We find the ancestors of *Roger de Ciffrewast*, who in 1410 held half-fee in Little Cowarne, to have been *Holnad* and *Robert de Ciffrewast*, who in 1186–87 held certain lands in Berkshire of the Honour of Windsor.

Is it possible they came from *Penthievre*, near the River *Chifrouet ?* (For terminal *wast* cf. *Martiwast*.)

Tabeel, near Holmer. 1277, *Thalbenour* (T. de Thonny).

Taradr (r.), near Aconbury. L.L., *Taratyr*. (Cf. *Taradra*

in Penthievre.) A brook falling into the Wye near Holme Lacy. *Aber Taradyr* (according to Mr. E. Phillimore) formed the extreme north-east point of the ancient *Erging* or *Archenfield* district. Signifies the *borer* or *auger*.

Tarrington. 1086 D., *Tatintune ;* 1243 T.N., *Tatinton* (parva) ; 1303 F.A., *Tatynton ;* 1342, *Tatinton* (Magna). The farm of *Tatwine*. The corrupt change to "*rr*" is of the sixteenth century ; but it endures.

Tatell, Tatele. 1399 I.P.M.

Tedney, near Whitbourne. (Possibly short for *Te(me)deney*.)

Tedstone (m.). 1086 D., *Tedistorp, Tedesthorne ;* 1286 Ch. R., *Todesterne ;* 1291 T.E., *Thedesterne* de la Mare ; 1291 T.E., *Todethorne* Wafr ; 1296 I.P.M., 1316 F.A., *Thedesthorne ;* 1373 I.P.M., *Testern* de la Mere. Two manors held by the Waifr and De la Mere families.

The *thorp*-form of Domesday Survey is a scribal mistake. The *thorn* belonged to someone whose name began with the proto-theme *Theod*, such as Theodwig.

Teme (r.). A.-S. form is *Temede* and *Tamede*, the earlier British forms are not known. Welsh, *Tefaidd*.

Tenbury, on River Teme. D., *Tamedeberie, Tametdeberie ;* 1210 R.B., *Tameteburia ;* 1307 I.P.M., *Tenedebury* (m.) ; 1269 H. Ca. Ch., *Themedébury ;* *c.* 1225 Br. C., *Themeteburi ;* 1277 H. Ca. Ch., *Temedebury, Thamebury*.

Thinghill (m.), near Withington. 1086 D., *Tingehele, Tingehalle ;* 1283 Cl. R., *Thynchull ;* 1291 T.E., *Thyngell ;* Pa. Pet., *Tinchull ;* 1327 P.B., *Thynghull*. The Domesday scribe has merely made a still common error of thinking he heard *hale* or *hall*, when he ought to have heard *hill* or *hüll*. The hill or mound of the meetings of the Free-men, *i.e.* O.N. *Thing*.

Thornbury (m.), near Kyre. 1086 D., *Torneberie* (*th*=*t*) ; *c.* 1200 H. Ca. Ch., *Thordebrugge ;* 1291 T.E., *Tharbur' ;* 1303,

Thornebury. A.-S. *Thorn* (the tree), *Byrig*, derivative of A.-S. Burh. M.E. *Bur*(*gh*=*y*). Fort, village, enclosed place.

Thornlau. Hundred D. 1086 D., *Tornelau, Tornelaus, Tornelawes*. The suffix represents A.-S. *hlaw, hlæw* (d.) *hlawe*, M.E. *lawe*, plural *laghes, lages*=*burial-tumps* or *lows*. The first element is A.-S. *thorn*, the tree.

Throllokeshope. 1440 I.P.M., near Peterchurch. Here the very rare p.n. *Thurlac* occurs. *Hop*=*vale*.

Thruxton (m.). 1226 F.R., *Thurkelleston ;* 1291 T.E., *Thurkeleston ;* 1331 Reg. Ep., *Throkelistone ;* 1378 I.P.M., *Thorgelstone ;* 1538 Val. Ecc., *Thruckeston*. Thurcytel's farm, pet-name Thurkell still known. The metathesis so common in all languages (even in *Guarani*) where *r*-sounds are concerned, has been present here.

Tidnor, near Lugwardine (?) A Roger de *Tudenore* occurs in 1327 H. Ca. Ch. The meaning is the over (A.-S. *Ofer*) bank or shore of *Tudda*, possibly of *Dydda*. A.-S. p.n.

Tillington, near Burghill. 1303 F.A. *Tulynton ;* 1372 I.P.M., *Tylinton ;* 1422 I.P.M., *Tullington, i.e. Tilwine's* farm or ton.

Titley, in Elsedune Hundred. 1086 D., *Titlege, Titellege ;* 1175 D.F., *Titelei ;* 1123 Ch. Conf., *Titellega ;* 1291 T.E., *Tytteleye ;* 1341 N.I., *Titteleye ;* 1379 I.P.M., *Title*. The meadow belonging to *Tutta*. A.-S. p.n.

Totnor.

Tragetreu (H.). 1086 D.

Trawley (r.). St. Weonards.

Treaddow. 1222 CR. R. *Traradu*.

Tre. W. and C. for home, hamlet, but usually the equivalent of E. *ton* or *ham*.

Tref, the full form of *tre*.

Tregate. 1144 D.F., *Treket ;* 1316 N.V., *Tregat ;* 1343

I.P.M., *Tregat;* 1371, *Tregeth* (Llanrothal). The suffix is *gât,* gate, W. *Tre-iet.*

Trelough, S. Devereux. 1367, *Trillocke* (m.), lake-farm. W. *Llwch,* lake, *loch. gh* for *ch.*

Trenant. W. *nant, neint,* brook and glen=Brook-farm.

Treneke. 1373 I.P.M.

Tretawbot. A specimen of hybrid resulting from *Tre* (W.) and Talbot (Norman-Fr.).

Tretire. The font in the church is made from a R. Br. altar inscribed :—

DEO TRIV[IO]
BECCICVS DON[AVIT]
ARAM

1264 I.P.M., *Rettore;* 1291 T.E., *Rettyr, Tretire, Tretower;* 1302 P.Q.W., *Retbyr* in Irchinfeld; 1308 I.P.M., *Rettyre;* 1341 N.I., *Rityr;* 1538 Val. Ecc., *Tretire.*

It is evident that the obscure name (possibly connected with the ancient inscription) has been handled not by English scribes, and thus became transformed. It has nothing to do with *Reatir,* modern form of W. *Rhaiadr*=cataract.

Trevadock. Tre Vadoc (*Trefadog, M. W.*)=Madog's *ton.*

Trevanning.

Trevervan (Llangarvan).

Treville (Forest), near Didley. 1086 D., *Triveline* (a royal woodland); 1141, *Trivela;* 1160 P.R., *Trivel;* 1182 P.R., *Trivel;* 1199 R.O., *Trivele;* 1216 D.C., *Trivelbroc;* 1265 Ch. R., *Tryvel;* 1272 I.P.M., *Tryvel;* 1297 I.P.M., *Trynell;* 1327 P.B., *Tryvel;* 1364 I.P.M., *Tryvell;* 1452 I.P.M., *Trevyle.* Origin obscure.

Trewarne. 1400 I.P.M., *Trewaryn.* Gwaryn's ton or farm.

Trewen. 1243 T.N., *Trewen;* 1253 I.P.M., *Trewen, white-farm.*

Trussewelle. 1158 L.R. A.-S. *Trus* (*m* and *n*)=brush-wood. (Cf. Trewsbury, co. Gloucester.)

Tupsley (m.) (in Hampton Episcopi). 1086 D., *Topeslage ;* 1202 O.W., *Toppesley ;* 1474 I.P.M., *Toppisle.* *Topp* is an A.-S. p.n., as in Toppesham (C.S. 721). He is here the owner of a pasture.

Turpleton. 1373 I.P.M., scribal *p* for *k.* (See *Thruxton.*)

Turnastone (m.). 1243 T.N., *Thurneiston, Thurneston, Thornestone ;* 1341, 1344, *Turneston* (*idem*).

The suffix declares for stone. There is no genitive-possessive here, and the first form, of 1243, reveals Thorney-ston. Consequently the first element is *Thorn-eye* or *thorn-island,* and the whole is Thorney-stone.

Twinordesfelde. The *s* is probably merely loose. The sense is the field of the two farms (*worth*).

Tumbelawe. 1086 D.

Twt. Perhaps for *Toot,* a place of vantage for outlook, also a projection in fields (D.D. *Wright*). The word has been made to appear Welsh. (Cf. The *Tut* or *Toot,* at Tewkesbury.)

Twyford. 1316 F.A., *Twyford,* etc. Double-ford. 1399 I.P.M.

Twyldenhyde et **Eshiche** (*Estleche*). 1315 I.P.M., *Tuyldenehid et Estleche ;* 1316 I.P.M., *Twildenehid ;* 1336 I.P.M., *Twelveshide* and *Estlechle ; Twildeneshide ;* 1382 I.P.M., *Twildonhede* et *Estchelche.* The first element here is obscure and difficult, but probably it represents Tidweald, A.-S. p.n. In which case (if correct) the entire reconstruction should run *Tedwealdin*(*g*)*hyde* or *hed* (A.-S. *heved*). [Though repeatedly entered under Herefordshire Inquisitions, these two places are near Williamstrip and Hatherop, co. Glos.]

Tybach. W., cottage. *Ty,* a house ; *bach,* little. (Cf. *Tymawr,* great house.)

Tyberton (m.). 1086 D., *Tibrintintune* (=*inga-ton*) ;

1218 H. Ca. Ch., *Tybyrtone*; 1291, *Tybreton*. The farm of *Tidbeorht's* sons or descendants.

Ulfputte, *i.e.* Wolf-pit. There were many of these in both (Hereford and Gloucester) shires.

Ullingswick (m.). 1086 D., *Ullingwic;* 1137 Anc. Ch., *Olingewiche, Ollinggewike;* 1186 Gl. C., *Ullyngwyk;* 1316 N.V., *Ollyngwyk.*

Other forms are given in *Glos. Pl.-Names,* where the author has attributed the origin to the sons of Willa, which it might be but for the forms in *ingge,* which he inclines (having more of these) to interpret as the stream-term *incg.* Hence the meaning here should be the wick, or vill, or farm on the *Ollynch.*

Ulose (Woodland). 1305 I.P.M. (? *Willows*).

Upleadon. Like the same place-name at Newent, this one at Bosbury signifies *Upper Leden* (r.). 1316 N.V., *Upledene.*

Upton, Uphampton, are obvious. 1316 N.V., *Upthon.*

Urchingfield. (See *Archenfield.*)

Urishay, near Peterchurch. (*Castle* and *manor.*) 1243 T.N., *Haya, Hurri, Ha-Wiri.* The hay or enclosure of Urry, Urryeshay (John de la Hay, Urri, 1398). The Hay was the enclosure in the woodland where the owner kept wild beasts.

Valletts, The. Quite possibly this word signifies Wallets, *i.e.* bundles of brushwood in stack. It is common in forest-lands. (Cf. *Sallow-vallets,* Forest of Dene, *Glos. Pl.-N.*) It has nothing whatever to do with *vallis* or *vallum.*

Venn, in Avenbury. (*Tornlaus Hundred.*) 1086 D., *Fenne;* 1275 I.P.M., *La Fenne* (*boscus*); 1303 F.A. A.-S. *Fenn* (d.) *Fenne, at the Fen.*

Verne (m.). D.S. *Ferne* (q.v.).

Verzons, The. ? *The Furzen(s), gorse-brakes.* Cf. The Fyrshyns, at Slaughter, 1545.

Ville and **Villa,** as terminals, may sometimes represent a reduced "*William,*" but more often "*well.*"

Vinnall, near Hay Park. (c.) 1220 Br. C., *Wimmel.*

Vowchurch. 1291 T.E., *Fowchirche;* 1316 F.A., *Fowechirch;* 1316 N.V., *ffoweschirch.* Origin obscure.

Wacton. 1243 T.N., *Wakinton;* 1303 F.A., *Waketon;* 1333 I.P.M., Lit. *Waccantun,* farm of *Wacca.* A.-S. p.n.

Wadel (*br.*). Tributary of the Llugg. Perhaps a form of *Gwedel* and *Weythel* (q.v.).

Wadetune (m.). 1086 D. No other forms. *Wada* is an A.-S. p.n. (Cf. *Wadan hlæw.*)

Walford (m.). There are two Domesday Walfords, one near Brampton Brian, the other near Goodrich. 1086 D., *Waliforde, Walecforde;* 1303 I.P.M., *Walleford;* 1316 F.A., *Walforde;* 1373 I.P.M., *Walesford.* The ford of the Welshmen. (Cf. *Wealingaford,* Wallingford.)

Walls, The. *White-walls,* etc. Generally these are not walls at all, but *Wells.* A.-S. *Weall,* M.E. *Wall, wallen.*

Walneye. 1270 Reg. Ep. Welshman's island.

Walshecourt (m., Yatton). 1455.

Walschebrok. Nr. Ocle (Wormesley Cartulary).

Walsopthorne, or Wassington (m.). (*Ashperton*). 1086 D., *Walesapeldor;* 1303 F.A., *Walsopethorne;* N.V. and 1315 I.P.M., *Waylestapthorne;* 1316 F.A., *Waylstapethorn;* 1338 and 1407 I.P.M., *Walsepthorne;* 1346 F.A., *Walshopesthorne;* 1428 F.A., *Walsthopesthorne.*

The Domesday scribe was here probably confused by the long and complicated name *Waltheofsthorne.* The meaning is the thorn tree, not at *Walshope,* but belonging to *Waltheof.* A William de Waltheof was a benefactor of Lymbrook Priory.

Walton (h.). 1303. The ton or farm of *Wale,* for *Weala,* g. pl. of Wealh, the Welshman.

Walterstone, near Ewyas. 1430, *Waltereston;* 1292 I.P.M., *Walterston;* 1316 F.A., *Waltereston,* i.e. *Wealdhere's farm.*

Wapleford (m.). 1086 D.

Wapleton (m.). 1086 D., *Wapletone.*

Both *Wappa* and *Wapela* are unrecorded, though other Domesday examples elsewhere survive to suggest them as personal names.

Wapley. 1400 I.P.M., *Wapelethe.*

Warham (m.). 1086 D., *Werham;* 1163, *Warrham;* 1280 Reg. Ep., *Werehun;* 1345, *Warrham;* 1378 P.R., (*St. John Bapt. par.*); 1538, *Warram.* (See *Warloe.*)

Ware (m.). 1388 I.P.M.

Warloe. The A.-S. *Wearr,* M.E. *Warre,* means a wart or lump. It is just possible the resemblance to this gave name to the low or tumulus.

Watelege. D. (G. Fitz Turolds) in Dore Valley.

Waylestapethorn. 1316 F.A. (See *Walsopthorne.*)

Webbetune. *c.* 1200 H. Ca. Ch., 1303 F.A., 1341 N.I., 1338 I.P.M., 1243 T.N., *Welketon;* 1291 T.E., *Welbedon.*

Taken together, and add the fact that no Anglo-Saxon pers.-name corresponds to the prefix Webbe, we may suspect that the real name is not before us, and that these *l*-forms are no accidents due to scribes. We have already witnessed how the *Testa de Nevill* (one of our most valuable thirteenth-century resources for place-names) discovered in *Malc field,* with its single-letter *c,* the Welsh name that lies behind the English disguise. But cf. *Weobley,* below.

Webton, near Madley.

Webtree. Hundred. 1316 F.A., *Webbetre.* It may be possible to connect this with the weaver (A.-S. *webbe*) and his beam.

Welland, near Peterstow.

Wellington (m.). Barony of Snodhill. 1030, *Weolintun ;* 1086 D., *c.* 1155 H. Ca. Ch., *Walintone ;* 1131 H. Ca. Ch., *Walintona ;* 1155 H. Ca. Ch., *Walintuna ;* 1291 T.E., *Welynton ;* 1364 *Welynton ;* 1397 Wolynton. Farm of *Wealhwine*, or more probably of Ulfwin. A.-S. p.n.

Weobley (m.). 1086 D., *Wibelai, Wylbeleg ;* 1138 F.W., *Wibbeleage ;* 1243 T.N., *Webbeleg ;* 1291 T.E., *Webbele ;* 1302 P.Q.W., *Wolbeleygh.* The meadow belonging to *Ulbold*, a short form of *Wulfbeald.*

Wergins, The (f.n.), or Worgins. In Sutton-on-Lugg. Possibly the same with co. Staff. "The Wergs" (Uncertain).

Wern, as a prefix, means marsh (W)*gwern.* Although the same word signifies *alder*-grove, groves of this tree are rare, and probably always were so, excepting by lakes and marshes.

Westelet. 1086 D. (c.) 1140, *Wetelecha ;* 1387 I.P.M., *Westret.* Possibly of Welsh origin; the forms betray early uncertainty.

Westhide (*Stoke Edith*). 1243 T.N., 1276 I.P.M., 1303 F.A., *Westhyde ;* 1401 I.P.M., *Westhida Towenyr.* The sense is obvious. See *Dinforton.*

Westnor. (See *Eastnor.*) A.-S. *Ofer*, bank or shore.

Weston Beggard. 1086 D., *Westune* (*Hope Bagarde*, 1281).

Weston-under-Penyard. This is not, as Canon A. T. Bannister thinks, the Weston of *Testa de Nevill*, 1243, held by M. le Bret. *Beggard* is for *Bayard* and (later) *Beard* (*family-name*).

Westwoods occur in Eardisley 1377 I.P.M. (probably at Woodeaves), 1291 T.E. In Archenfield (in Lawaran), (Gl. C., p. 123) *c.* 1101 A.D., and Dewsall ; 1086 D., *Westeude.*

Wetmore, near Leintwardine. *hwæte-mor*, moorland turned into wheat-land.

Weythell (brook). Tributary of the Arrow, near Hergist. *Gwithel, Gwyddel, Wyddel.* (Leland) *Wadele.* In the thirteenth century there was a Gwydewelle-broke in Coaley, Gloucestershire.

Wharton (m.), near Leominster. 1086 D., *Wavertune;* 1291 T.E., *Wavertone;* 1303 F.A., *Wafreton;* 1431 F.A., *Wafnurto.* The prefix probably indicates a stream-term, such as *Weaver.*

Wheyle, The, near Pudleston. 1086 D., *Huilech;* 1123 Ch. C., *Whiale;* *c.* 1175 H. Ca. Ch., *Whilai* (*l*) and *While;* 1211 L.R., *Wile;* 1307 I.P.M., *Wyle;* 1316 N.V., *Whyle;* 1431 F.A., *Le While.* The Norman often converts *lea* into *lec, c=gh. The Wheyle* (*dial.*), the edge of a mountain. [But cf. Cornish *Wheal-vor.*]

Whitbourne (m.). Type 1: 1291 T.E., *Whyteburne;* 1476, *Whitburn;* 1355, *Whytebourn.* Type 2: 1262 I.P.M., *Wytebourne;* 1333 Reg. Ep., 1341 N.I., 1316 N.V., *Wytbourne.* Type 3: 1302 P.Q.W., *Wynterburn, i.e.* a burn that only flows in winter-time.

Whitney (m.), on the Wye. 1086 D., *Witenie;* 1270 Gl. C., *Wytheneye;* 1341, *Whyteneye;* 1374, *Whiteneis.* ? *s* for *t* (*eit*), *isle,* or *s* may be due in this late *form* to the owners, *i.e.* the *Whitneys.* White island.

Whitchurch. ? W. *Timinauc,* L.L.

Whittern. The whitehouse. A.-S. *ærn.*

Whitwick (m.). 1086 D., *Witewiche;* 1243 T.N., *Wytewicke;* 1303 F.A. The white village or farm.

Whittle (br.), near Credenhill. Probably for *Wegthell=W. Gwyddall* (r.n.). q.v..

Widemarsh, Hereford. Frequently mentioned, *Wydemerch,* etc.

Wiggal, Bredenbury. Probably for an earlier *Wiggenhale, i.e.* the hale or meadow of *Wicga.*

Wigget. *c.* 1310 L.C.

Wigmore (*m.* and *Castle* and *Abbey*). 1086 D., *Wighemore;* 1248 H. Ca. Ch., *Wygemore;* 1291 T.E., *Wyggemor;* 1335 P. Reg., *Wygemur.* The meaning is the moor belonging to *Wicga.*

Wigton (m.), near Stoke Prior and Leominster. 1086 D., *Wigetune;* 1272 I.P.M., *Wiginton;* 1392 I.P.M., *Wygton.* The farm of *Wicga.*

Wilenhale (m.). (Le Rous.) 1086 D., *Wilehalle;* 1371, *Wylynhale;* 1484, *Willinghale.* The hale or corner-meadow of Willa's sons, or else of *Weligen,* willows.

Willersley (m.). 1086 D., *Willansleye;* 1291 T.E., *Wylardesle(y);* 1341 N.I., *Wylerdesleye;* 1377 P.R., *Wilardesle;* 1483 I.P.M., *Willardeslegh.* The Domesday form exemplifies the not frequent exchange of *n* for *r,* as in Du*r*ham, anciently Du*n*elm, Pa*n*ormus, now Pa*l*ermo. The meaning is *Wilheard's-leah*=meadow.

Willey, near Presteign. 1278 Reg. Ep., *Wylilege;* 1307 I.P.M., *Wylely;* 1377 P.R., *Wylilege.* A.-S. *Welige* (d.), *Welig,* willow.

Wilmeston (m.). Member of the Snodhill Barony. 1086 D., *Wilmestune;* 1243 T.N., *Walmestun;* 1278, *Wilmeston. Wulfhelm's* or *Willelm's* ton or farm. (Cf. Glos. *Williamstrip.*)

Wilsets, The. Stoke Prior. The terminal is the interesting A.-S. *Sæte* (*pl.*), signifying settlers. Lack of early forms makes uncertain the meaning of the prefix.

Wilton (m., castle). 1086 D., *Wiltone;* (Hen. II. P. Rolls, *frequent*) *Wilton. Wileg*=willow-ton. There is no possessive here in any surviving form.

Wilvetone. "In Valle Stradelei." 1086 D., *Wluetone.*

Probably the animal, wolf, and not any personal-name is concerned. The medial is not a lost possessive *es,* but the weakened gen. pl. Wolf-enclosure. But in the absence of other forms the matter must remain uncertain. (Cf. *Wilverugge*).

Wimundestreu. Domesday Hundred, 1086. Wigmund's tree.

Winforton (m.). Ferry over the Wye. Type 1 : 1086 D., *Widferdestone.* Type 2 : 1277 Reg. Ep., *Wymfredtone ;* 1330 Reg. Ep., *Wymfortone.* Type 3 : 1291 T.E., *Wynfretone ;* 1276 I.P.M., *Winferton ;* 1387 I.P.M., *Wynfurton.* The Domesday Survey form has " *d* " obviously for *n* in the prefix. The intended name probably was the Saxonised form of W. *Gwenfrewi, Winifred.* In I.P.M. 1402 we have the name *Towenyr* attached to *Winfreton.* It likewise follows *Chattenor* and *Westhyde* in the same Return. If the word replaces *tywynhir,* the meaning should be "long strand."

Winnell, in Allensmore. Br. C., *Wimell.*

Winnington (m.). 1086 D., *Winetune ;* 1225 Br. C., *Wunetone. Ton* or *farm* of the *Wynninga,* or sons of *Wynn* (*wine*).

Winsley. Hope-under-Dinmore. 1186–98 H. Ca. Ch., *Elfwineslege* (nemus, woodland). The hope or valley belonging to *Ælfwine.* A.-S. p.n.

Winesblaua. *c.* 1310 L.C.

Winstone (m.). 1216–34, 1388 I.P.M., *Wynestune, Winestune ;* 1243 T.N., *Wyneston.* Wynn-s-ton.

Wintercott. 1395 I.P.M., *Wyntercote ; c.* 1310, *Wintercote.*

Wirkebroke (m.). 1440 I.P.M.

Wisteston. One mile north of Marden. 1241 Ch. R., *Wistanestun ;* 1344 I.P.M., *Wastaneston.* Wistan's ton or farm.

Withington (m.). 1086 D., *Widingtune ;* 1278 Reg. Ep., *Wydintone ;* 1322, *Ewithington, Eau-Withington ;* 1316, *Wythynton* Chirche (*Parva*). Probably the sense is Willow-ton or farm. A.-S. *Withig*(*en*), willow. The development of

"*ing*" from medial *en* or *yn* is frequent. The 1322-forms are interesting.

Wodecourt. 1483 I.P.M.

Wodhyde. 1310 L.C.

Wogaston (m.). 1393 I.P.M. The ton or farm of Ocga.

Wolferlow (m.). 1086 D., *Ulferlau ; c.* 1150 *Ulfereslee ;* 1291, *Wulverlowe ;* 1331, *Wulfrylowe ;* 1340 Reg. Ep., *Wolferslowe.* The hlæw, or laū, or lowe (burial-mound) of *Wulfhere.* A common A.-S. p.n.

Wolphy. Domesday Hundred. 1086 *Ulfei, Ulfagie ;* 1316 F.A., *Walfoy ;* 1346 F.A., *Wolfeye ;* 1428 F.A., *Wolfheye* (d. *heie*). The sense is the A.-S. *hege, hey,* enclosure for *wolves.*

Woolhope (m.). 1086 D., *Hope* (*valley*) *;* 1243 T.N., *Wuilvene* Hope ; 1280 Reg. Ep., *Wilhenehope ;* 1290, *Wolvinhope ;* 1291 T.E., Hope *Wlniche ;* 1312 H. Ca. Ch., Hope *Wolnith ;* 1316 F.A., Hope *Wolvune,* N.V. ; 1334 Reg. Ep., *Wolnithehoppe ;* 1341 N.I., *Hope Wolnith ;* 1396, *Wolshope ;* 1483, *Wolnethope.*

The personage involved is the Lady *Wulfwen,* who gave *Hope* to the church, and her name is clear in the genitive form. The tendency, however, to attach to her name the possession of a *heath,* as well as the *valley* or *Hope,* is responsible for the *ithe, et,* and *iche* forms, the latter providing a common instance of *c,* mis-written for *t.* The term intended having been A.-S. *hæth, i.e. Wolveneath Hope.*

Woolpits. Eastnor and elsewhere. L.C., *Ulf-putte.* See under *Wolphy.* As in *Glos. Pl.-N., Wolf-pits* and *Wolf-heyes*= traps (for taking) and enclosures (for keeping) *wolves.*

Woolstone, St. A farm at Welsh Newton.

Woonton Laysters. 1086, *Wennetune ;* 1222 Br. C., *Wunetun ;* 1316 F.A., *Woneton,* N.V. (*Ra. le Bottiler*). *Wenna* was an Anglo-Saxon man's name, which would explain

the Domesday Survey form, though the later forms point to a different one, *Wuna*. Laysters (?) Le-ash-trees (i.e. *Aysseh*).

Wootton=Wood-farm.

Worm (r.). This may be from a personal-name, *Wyrma*, (?). The *c.* 1130 L.L. *Guornui* has nothing to do with this Herefordshire tributary of the Monow, or Gwy Mingui, being the Brecon river *Grwne*.

Wormbridge. 1284 and 1300, *Wormbrugge;* 1302 P.Q.W., *Wormebrugge;* 1341 N.I., *Wormbrigg*. The bridge over the River *Worm*.

Wormelow. 1086 D., *Urmelauia, Wermelau;* *c.* 1200 R.B., *Wormelawe;* 1227 Cl. R., *Wurmelawe;* 1397, *Wormelawe*. "'*Wormelow tump*' is a mere pleonasm" (J. H. Round). This should mean the funeral mound of Wyrma.

Wormesley, near Weobley. 1086 D., *Wrmesleu, Wermeslai;* 1176 D.F., *Worvesley;* 1243 T.N., *Wurmeleys;* 1303 F.A., *Wermesleye;* 1430 P. Reg., *Wormysley*. A.-S. p.n. Wurm.

Wormeton. 1234 Cl. R., *Wirminton;* Gl. C., *Wirmetone;* 1243 T.N., *Wurmeton*. The ton or farm of Wyrma.

Woveresneffe. 1377 I.P.M., *i.e. Wulphere's-ness* or promontory.

Wrenoke (*foresta*). 1333 I.P.M. *Rowinok, Rywyneuc,* Brut-y-Tywys. Uncertain.

Wurthreynon (Radnorshire). 1331 I.P.M., *Gwyrtheyrnion* (Vurtigern's lordship). W. Cantred.

Wybberham. 1378 I.P.M. Other examples lacking, but probably signifying *ham* belonging to *Webheard*. A.-S. p.n.

Wychcotte. 1280 Reg. Ep.

Wych, The. Probably the salt-box of Malvern Priory, to which convent belonged certain of the Brine-pitts of Wyke, Droitwich. (1017 *Sealt-wic.*) Cf. the "*salt-whiche,* nere the Bottehall," in Cirencester, 1540. The term became commonly adopted for markets or dairy-farms, etc.

Wye (r.). Lat. *Vaga.* 1086 D., *Waia;* 1097 F.W., *Weage;* L.L., *Gwy;* *c.* 1180, *Guai.*

Wygewod (and Eton). 1270 Ch. R.—1323 Reg. Ep., *Wyngeswode.* (? A.-S. p.n. *Winge,* or else *Wingeard.*)

Yarcledon Hill (May Hill). 1243 T.N., *Iarcleston;* 1291 I.P.M., *Yarkellone, Archelston;* Gl. C., *Yurklestone.* See under *Yarkhill,* below. The "*s*" here is inorganic. It is easy to combine the analysis of these two names, saving that the present name has an adjunctive "*stan*"=*stone.* The places are thirteen miles from one another. The forms of the one, however, take the same story much farther back in point of time.

Yare. Farm.

Yarkhill (on the Frome). 811 C.S., *Geard Cylle;* 1086 D., *Archel, Iarchulle, Hyerkell;* 1250, *Gerchull;* 1333 I.P.M., *Yarkehull;* 1310 I.P.M., *Zarkhull;* 1395, *Yarcle;* 1428 F.A., *Yarkhul.*

Fortunately, the trustworthy and early ninth-century form has come down to us to throw light upon this strange name. It should, preliminarily, be recalled in dealing with it that in late West Saxon *g* before *ea* (as here) tends to melt or disappear. (Cf. *eorn* for *georn,* geogoth=youth.) In its process of decomposition it tends to become *Hi, Hy,* or simply *Y.* Secondly, *ear* tends to become *ar* or *er.* Thirdly, *d* easily drops before *c.*. In the early Charter in which the name occurs this consists, as above given, of two elements, *geard, cylle.*

We can now (in the light of these things) see what has ensued. The name-terms having been welded together in all later forms, *D* dropped out, and *G* initial decomposed into *I, Y,* or *Hi* (cf. Hyacinth=Jacynth; Giallo, jaune, yellow); but once (1250-form) again it tried to reassert itself: *ear* turned into *ar, er,* in every form.

This brings us to the second element, *Cylle* (K sound). If we follow the forms given above, this too, though not

the meaning, becomes easy to understand. In the Domesday form (1086), or a century and more after the date of the Charter, it changes to *chel*. This becomes confused with *hull* for *Hill*, and the twelfth-century form gives us *chull*, followed by *kell, cul, chill, khulle, chull*, all of these representing the original *cylle*. A.-S. *Geard*=garth, yard, fenced-place. *Cylle*. With this second, separately-written element arises the problem of its meaning. For, though *Cylla* occurs, either as a personal name—or else, it is as a stream-term—in the Charter of Eadgar (972) to the monks of Pershore (and it there appears to refer to one of the two Gloucestershire Kilcots; *on Cyllincg-cotan*, q.v. *Glos. Pl.-N.* p. 95), its precise meaning has not been discovered. If it were a personal name here it would not stand alone and separated by the scribe from *Geard* (see above). On the other hand, if it signified a river-term it would have been prefixed to *incg* or *yngg;* which is not the case. That it may represent some extinct old-Celtic term corresponding to the Erse *Cill* (g.) *Cille*, a church or holy spot, is not demonstrable, though the Welsh term *Cil*, a corner, recess, is no doubt related to the latter. There remains only the A.-S. term *Cylle* (Lat. *Culeus*), meaning a leather-bottle or amphora, which meanings do not elucidate matters. Possibly a Celtic term became assimilated by the Anglo-Saxon scribe to the last word, which was familiar to him.

By an error of the Rev. J. B. Johnston in his *Place-Names of England and Wales*, which has been copied unwittingly by Canon Bannister, the present writer is made to consider that this name is due to a mere dialect term for Ragwort. He never said, nor for a moment thought this, but he merely mentioned the coincident fact, without comment. (Cf. Yartledon Hill in *Glos. Pl.-N.*)

Yarpole. 1086 D., *Iarpol;* 1211 L.R., *Yarepol;* 1310 L.C., *Yarepoll;* 1316 F.A., *Yarpol;* N.V. (*idem*); 1327 P.B., *Yarpol*. The pool in the River *Yare*.

Yarsop. 1086 D., *Erdeshop, Ardeshope, Edreshope;* 1199 Ch., *Hardeshope;* 1243 T.N., *Erdeshop.* The A.-S. *Hop,* a valley pertaining to *Eardred.*

Yatton (m.). Much Marcle. 1243 T.N., *Jatton;* 1420 I.P.M., *Yalton, ;* 1463, *Yetton.* The *Gate* (*i.e. Gat=road*) *farm.*

Yazor (m.), near Wormesley. Type 1: 1166 H. Ca. Ch., *Iagosoure;* 1243 T.N., *Iagesoure;* 1265 Ch. R., *Yakesour.* Type 2: 1291 T.E., *Yanesore;* 1337 I.P.M., *Yanesover.* Type 3: 1302, *Yasore;* 1469, *Yassore;* 1436, *Yasor.* Type 4: 1086 D., *Iavesoure;* Reg. Ep., *Gavesore.* The obscured and corrupted owner's name here was probably *Gagan,* the possessor of a bank, or of shore-land. (A.-S. *Ofer.*)

Yearston. Upper Sapey. *Garston*=grass-ton. This is a fairly common name.

Yeld, The. Marston. A cattle-shed or fenced place.

Yngeston (vill). *a.* 8 Hen. V., I.P.M. [See *Ingestone.*]

Yoke, La. 1310 L.C.

*** This collection was made in 1912-14.—St. C. B.

ANCIENT STAINED GLASS IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, CIRENCESTER, AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

By WALTER THOMAS BEEBY, M.D.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE DIFFERENT STYLES.

Nearly all the old glass in the fine Church of St. John, and there is a considerable quantity, dates from the fifteenth century, which with the early sixteenth was perhaps the best period of stained glass. We say perhaps the best period, because there are some who prefer the rather barbaric but effective style of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which had to be relinquished because unsuitable to the more advanced times and changed architecture; and probably the fascinating effects—in their own peculiarities—of those days have never since been attained. Others prefer the methods of the fourteenth century, when colour was still deep, but not so much so as in the early Gothic, yet more than during the Perpendicular period.

It was a time of transition, however, this fourteenth-century or Decorated period; artists had already availed themselves of the newly-discovered yellow stain, which brought light amongst the deep colours, and were introducing into their designs an increasing amount of white glass. They had figures showing an improvement in drawing, and they had lofty canopies, which, if they contained more colour than in the next century, yet were light enough to give vivacity to the picture. When we pass to the following period, we find most of these novelties developed and perfected, but with more delicate colours, more brilliance, and more life.

In an address to the Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archæological Society in 1903, Mr. St. Clair Baddeley describes so well the two central periods of glass staining, that we cannot refrain from quoting from some of his remarks.

Speaking of the fourteenth-century methods, he describes them as subject to "a flat treatment wanting in pictorial perspective, and conspicuous in some rather primitive formalisms," which seem "by their simplicity (or rather by their reduction of all complexities) more attractive, and more appropriate for the purposes of decoration," than the more finished designs of later years, which, he says, are characterised by silvery glass, "abounding with rich, yellow stain, and pale greyish blues, and a far broader and also more detailed style of colouring, together with superior drawing of the forms and faces."

At the end of his address he speaks of Tewkesbury and Malvern, and says: "If by its simple nobleness, and its depth as well as splendour of colour, the Tewkesbury glass proclaims its rougher virility of character, most assuredly the windows of Malvern Priory, with their spacious seas of silver, washed with blue and gold, their delicate finish, and sometimes rather timid effect, reveal a more perfect, but far more feminine tendency in the art."

But in the style of the earlier part of the fifteenth century do we not find some of the very virtues which are here claimed for the fourteenth—a flatness of glass, a reliance upon colour rather than upon picture itself, also a singleness of purpose not yet interfered with by the developments of the end of the century?

It is not meant to assert that there was not in England at this time any effect of the pictorial in stained glass, but the tendency was much less marked than later, so much so that the style of the Perpendicular period has been called the Figure and Canopy style; and at Cirencester the designs are entirely confined to these as their main features.

The pictorial was much more common on the Continent in the early part of the century than in England, but at the

end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century the continental influence was felt here, as at Fairford, where the windows are of a decidedly pictorial character, the artists having called to their aid the most recent improvements in material and in methods of execution, beautifying their designs by introducing representations of landscape, architecture, and drawings of animal life. These windows are for the most part late Gothic, that is late Perpendicular, of the early part of the sixteenth century, and show evidence of Flemish influence, though perhaps the finest Flemish work was of the Renaissance style, which matured earlier abroad than in England. Excellent specimens may be seen at Liége and also here in Lichfield Cathedral, but the glass at Lichfield was brought from the Abbey of Herkenrode.

Admirable as were these pictorial windows, it wss not long before they passed the boundary of legitimate glass painting, sacrificing brilliancy and translucence, indulging in extravagant drawing and realism, with a multiplicity of detail only justified when painting on an opaque material. And even when the designs did not transcend the traditions and laws which govern the art of painting on glass, it is questionable whether the simpler style of the earlier fifteenth century was not often superior in its effect upon an ecclesiastical building to the more obtrusive pictures of the later period, glorious works of art as they were in themselves.

THE CIRENCESTER GLASS.

Cirencester is a storehouse of the simpler Perpendicular glass, showing excellent work, all the better that it has not been too much interfered with by brush and stippling tool.

In his work on stained glass Mr. Lewis Day says, speaking of Fairford glass: "To compare it with the neighbouring Perpendicular glass at Cirencester, with its delicate tracing and fine stain (in which matter the Fairford glass does not by any means excel), is to see how very different it is from typical English work."

Another writer on stained glass, Mr. C. H. Sherrill, says, referring to Cirencester: "The stained glass must be studied in detail in order to yield a full appreciation of its beauty; for we must not expect to find here the splendid ensemble often seen elsewhere. There are few places in the land where Perpendicular glass shows so clearly the delicacy of both design and colour which the art achieved in England during that epoch."

That St. John's, Cirencester, was once rich in coloured glass is clear from the following quotation. In 1639 the condition of the church is described in a petition for repair to Archbishop Laud. The church is made to say: "I am in comlyness not much inferior to the Cathedral at Bath,—my windows are particoloured, white in one place and red in another, but I was founded with rich coloured glass as in Fairford Church, near me, in the same dioces, which is kept decently to this day."

No doubt Cirencester owed much for the preservation of its glass to Mr. Samuel Lysons, the noted antiquary, who took great interest in the ehurch, and was instrumental in collecting from various parts of the building some of the best old glass and putting it in the large windows east and west, by which means, if some was placed in an unsuitable position, it was at any rate placed in safety.

Few people are aware of the great quantity of ancient glass which survived the fanaticism of the Puritans, only to be destroyed in modern times, even as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, wilfully or by neglect or by accident. Fortunately the two large east and west windows in St. John's have been strengthened and releaded.

In his work on stained glass Dr. Nelson gives an interesting letter from a glazier at Salisbury to a customer in London. The letter was written in 1788, and commences as follows:—

"SIR,

"This day I have sent you a box full of old stained and

painted glass as you desired me to doe, which I hope will suite your purpose. It is the best I can get at present."

In St. John's, Cirencester, most of the old glass which remains is in the east and west windows. It will be convenient to notice first the west window.

WEST WINDOW.

We see by the *Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard* of August, 1909, that in the year 1796 Mrs. Catherine Cripps left a legacy of £50 for the beautifying of St. John's, Cirencester, and it was decided to spend that amount in collecting some of the best old glass from various parts of the church and placing it in the large west window.

In doing this no doubt additional glass was needed to fill up the backgrounds, and as the arrangements of colour in stained glass appear to have been little understood at the time, much which was inserted both here and in the eastern window was out of harmony with the delicate fifteenth-century colours.

In 1898 some University Extension Lectures on "Architecture" were given in Cirencester by Mr. Francis Bond, author of a standard work on the subject; and in the course of one lecture he remarked that the two large windows in the Church of St. John contained an exceptionally fine collection of stained glass, and he expressed his opinion that it should be seriously considered whether something could be done to prevent the ancient glass from being interfered with so much by contact with hideous bits of modern glass put in at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Information gathered from the *Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard* of 1910 tells us that a year previously, in 1909, the west window was looked over at the cost and generosity of Mrs. Wilfred Cripps. It was releaded, copper ends fixed to the old iron bars, the stonework repaired, and the whole window rendered secure. It is a matter of regret that the obnoxious blue background still remains, though an attempt

was made to tone it down by the application of a dark varnish, which was fairly satisfactory for a time, but only a time, the varnish having to all appearance perished and almost disappeared.

In his remarks on the west window at Cirencester Mr. Sherrill, from whom we have before quoted, says: "The colours here are noteworthy, especially the rich, deep red in the robe of the cardinal at the top of the second lancet from the north; in the second to the south notice the combination of the mulberry gown, blue cape, and golden halo. The use of the leads to delineate folds in the cloth is as good as the colouring. It is evident that no mean artist produced these satisfactory results, but it is fortunate for him that he cannot see the atrocious blue that now strives to off-set his delightful work." Originally these figures were probably in the Garstang Chapel, where was some of the best glass in the church, glass which could hardly be surpassed anywhere, and which should never have been removed to its present lofty position.

The writer in the *Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard* in 1910, who described the west window, then recently restored, had an exceptional opportunity of forming an opinion on the old glass, because a scaffolding had been erected, and he could mount and view the designs on a level with the eye, about the position for which they were intended. He remarked on the great beauty of the central light, which rendered it, he thought, one of the most valuable remains of medieval glass in England; and he speaks of the whole window as "one of the chief treasures in what is Cirencester's great treasure-house."

The same writer also praises the drawing of the faces, typical as they are of the difference between the work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Notice is also taken of some figures which are described as perfect gems, attention being especially drawn to the figure of St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read, and to the little angels in the tracery playing musical instruments, and some tiny figures of queens in golden

PLATE IX.

CIRENCESTER WINDOWS: RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK.

array, as well as the two other little figures, one of which has a nimbus. Besides these there are four small but interesting figures, each of a female, crowned and looking down from the face of a canopy. These pretty little figures deserve to be viewed with the aid of binocular glasses; they can scarcely be seen without.

Probably the oldest piece of glass in the west window is that which is believed to represent the head of Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV. On the head is a jewelled coronet, and round the neck a collar which may be meant for the "collar of York," which was formed of alternate suns and roses. This portrait, as it is called by Lysons in his *Antiquities*, was formerly in the Trinity Chapel; and it is said that the head was originally part of a complete figure, dating from about 1430. The figure is described by the Rev. E. Fuller, who says it bore the arms of the House of York. In those days from the king downwards people used what they called badges; and the Yorkist badges were "the sun in splendour" and "the rose *en soleil*," also "the falcon and fetterlock." The first may be seen in the window we are describing, and the last in the stonework of the Trinity Chapel.

One of the chief contributors to the building of the Trinity Chapel was William Prelatte, friend and follower of the Duke of York, which accounts for the Yorkist badge appearing so often in the chapel; and the arms of Prelatte are in the west window as well as the badge of York.

The large figures of saints which are in the highest tier in this window, and in their lofty position look much smaller than they are, represent on the extreme left William, Archbishop of York, and on the extreme right St. John of Beverley, also Archbishop of York. Between the archbishops are St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, and St. Jerome. These three central figures are considered by Archdeacon Sinclair to date from about 1520, and the archbishops a little earlier. All these figures show excellent work, but they

are somewhat lost at so great a height, not being drawn with a boldness of outline for such an altitude ; nevertheless, if seen in a suitable light they impress upon the observer the beauty of the glass and the colours of the period.

Of the large female saints now in the lower tier of the same window the first on the left is uncertain, but according to the Rev. E. Fuller the othe rs are St. Dorothy, St. Catharine St. Margaret, and St. Joanna. The uncertain one on the left shows what some have supposed to be a female head on the figure of St. Peter, because it holds keys and a book. But on the other hand it has been suggested that the figure does repr esent a female saint, as there were several whose emblem was a key or keys, and certainly the slenderness of the figure and delicacy of the hands look more like a female than a man, and especially one who had formerly battled with the winds and the waves. Added to this, one would seem to remember that St. Peter is generally shown as holding the keys in a prominent manner, and not merely letting them dangle from his hand. Notably among the female saints who used to be drawn carrying keys is St. Zithia or Sitha. She appears at Mells, Somerset, with two keys, and at Fairford in a tracery light is a very pretty little figure in grisaille. She is depicted with three keys suspended from her right hand, and in her left a book, and is said to be St. Zithia. It may be mentioned that Santa Zita was patroness of Lucca. She is so described in Vol. xxxii. of *The Story of the Nations.*

Perhaps the most notable of the female saints in the west window at St. John's is that of St. Catharine. She is depicted with her emblems, a wheel and a sword, while St. Joanna stands on a dragon, a piece of the body of which, curiously, has got worked up with the glass under the feet of St. Dorothy. St. Catharine makes a very favourite subject in stained glass windows, both in England and abroad. Mr. de Haviland Bushnell, in his *Storied Windows*, mentions a fine example in the nave of Angers Cathedral, and one in the east wall of

PLATE X.

CIRENCESTER WINDOWS: ST. CATHARINE.

Moulin Cathedral. Dr. Nelson speaks of about fifty instances of St. Catharine in England; and out of these about a quarter are shown with the sword and wheel.

At West Wickham the saint is represented as standing on the body of the Emperor Maximin. At Combs St. Catharine is kneeling before the same Emperor, who is on horseback, accompanied by two persecutors; and in the same church she appears as chained to the city gate and about to be slain by a soldier with a sword. In York Minster is the martyrdom of St. Catharine. She comes before the Emperor Maximin, who as described by Nelson is seated on a throne and has the devil upon his shoulder. Another light has St. Catharine conversing with philosophers, and a third has the execution by the Emperor's orders. At West Horsley is the deliverance from martyrdom, the heads of two executioners having been struck down by the angel. In a fourth window at York the saint is in prison being visited by the Empress; and finally her escape is shown, the wheel being shattered by angels, but she is also to be seen on her way to heaven after decapitation.

The five figures of saints at Cirencester do not seem to be exactly of the same date. Probably those of St. Joanna and St. Zithia are the most recent. The latter might well be of the early sixteenth century. The decoration of her dress is more elaborate than that of the others, and more profusely jewelled with red, blue, pink and white jewels. Taken together, these figures with those in the upper tier probably date from 1450 to 1500, or a little later.

The kneeling figures are said to be those of donors, but donors of what is not clear, as the glass was collected from different parts of the building. They are J. Hampton, of Stratton, and J. Langley, of Siddington and of Chesterton. This would most likely be John, the elder brother of Edmund, who built the chapel at Siddington, John having died without male issue. Also there were J. Colesburn, J. Avening, W. Okyn, and Joanna, and I. Routhwell, and Margaret and

Alice, and Joanna Whyt. These are considered to be of about the same date as the female saints.

In the left hand part of the tracery is an emblem of the Trinity, while opposite to this is what Archdeacon Sinclair speaks of as the probably unique symbol of the Virgin, thus: "Maria est Virgo, Mater, Vidua." These words are shown on an escutcheon with three others, indicating Most Holy, Most Chaste, Most Modest. This device has been regarded as of the greatest interest, and especially so by members of the Roman Church. Some years ago it was described and illustrated by the Rev. Dr. Rock, in a work called *The Church of our Fathers.* Dr. Rock says that the words and device are symbolical of the perpetual virginity of St. Mary, and the same meaning, he states, has been assigned to the three flowers on the lily plant so often seen in pictures of the Annunciation, and clearly visible in the window in the Lady Chapel, Cirencester.

The two escutcheons in the tracery of the window spoken of, bearing the words symbolical of the Trinity and of the Holy Virgin, are supported by figures which stand behind them, their heads appearing above, that on the left apparently an angel, and that on the right seemingly a female crowned and perhaps intended for the Virgin herself.

Both these escutcheons are shown in the *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society's Transactions,* vol. xvii., and in Dr. Rock's work.

There remain only to be mentioned as in the large west window some heraldic shields, the royal arms, those of Mortimer, Chedworth, and the Abbey.

THE GARSTANG AISLE AND CHAPEL.

The eastern end of the south aisle was built or rebuilt by the Garstang family; and they utilised the most easterly part as a chapel, placing round it the oak screen which is there at the present day. This portion of the aisle contains two windows, which are different from those in the more westerly part, and possibly they replace two Norman windows. They

PLATE XI.

CIRENCESTER WINDOWS: ST. JOHN OF BEVERLEY.

now contain modern stained glass, but orginally had in them some of the best of the ancient glass in the church.

Amongst this were the figures of St. William of York and St. John of Beverley, both now in the west window, and also, as it appears, some of the others at present in that window, besides one of St. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, together with a few heraldic shields. Probably in addition to these the figures of the Annunciation now in the Lady Chapel were in the Garstang Chapel, or as is it more properly called the Chapel of St. Edmund; and the seraphim now in the Lady Chapel were there also.

The two archbishops are shown in an illustration of one of these windows in Lysons' *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, or rather an illustration of a part of a window, for only two lights are shown. Both the archbishops stood under canopies as now, the canopies consisting of white, brown, and yellow glass, according to the custom of the fifteenth century. They are drawn in perspective, also a characteristic of the time, and they have a number of pinnacles. Mr. Arnold, in some of his remarks on the peculiarities of the century, speaks of a "froth of pinnacles." Behind the figures are devices in yellow stain, and on each side a narrow border, with the crown ornament common in the latter part of the century.

THE LADY CHAPEL.

One window in the north wall of this chapel has been filled with fragments of old glass. Some of the pieces are truly fragments, while others are more or less complete figures, which, however, have lost their surroundings and associations. They were found in the church by Archdeacon Sinclair, then vicar of the parish, 1898 to 1908, and saved from destruction by being placed in their present position, where, notwithstanding their somewhat dilapidated condition, they show some excellent bits of colour, the ruby and blue deserving attention; and they prove what the effects of colour upon an interior can be with scarcely any picture.

"Colour," says Mr. Lewis Day, "is the cause of a stained glass window; it condones no matter what form, and the colour of good glass has a charm which takes one willingly captive. The most absolutely satisfactory windows will often not bear the least critical examination of their design and drawing." How many modern windows are produced to please the wish of the donor for something artistically drawn, modelled, and shaded, rather than for a perfection in translucent colour.

Referring to this window, Mr. Sherrill remarks: "Being on a level with the eye of the observer, the glazing can be examined closely. Note the careful adjustment of the leads to suit the drawing of the hands in the right-hand lower corner. It is so evident that this glazier thoroughly understood his art that we are not surprised at the richness of the reds and blues, or the mellow strength of his yellow stain."

A few of the designs in the Lady Chapel are not fragmentary, and two or three others only partially so, instance the winged seraphim in the tracery lights. They are believed to have once been in the Garstang Chapel, and to have been moved for a time to the east window. They are probably of about the same date as the figures of the archbishops in the west window. Their wings, six in munber, cover the greater portion of their body, and are wonderfully feathered, with many eyes as of peacock's feathers, and the yellow stain used in the designs is very clear and brilliant. Mr. James Powell, of Whitefriars, than whom there could have been no better judge, thought the colouring of these seraphim as beautiful as any he had seen. They furnish an excellent instance of the brilliance and vivacity of good fifteenth-century glass. Such seraphim are generally represented as standing on wheels, and are supposed to be the seraphim of the Prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, the latter ones being associated with wheels, which always accompanied them, denoting speed of movement.

In the lower part of the window are figures of the

Annunciation in good condition. On the left is the angel, and on the right the holy Virgin, with a representation of a dove, and the usual white lily, with three flowers, said to symbolise the three prominent virtues of the Virgin Mother, holiness, modesty, and chastity. These figures were also supposed to have been in the Garstang Chapel, and then from 1800 to 1904 in the east window of the church.

The central figure in this window in the Lady Chapel deserves notice. It is late fifteenth-century work, and when in its original position with proper surroundings must have been an imposing figure. The drawing of the face, the eyes, mouth, and hair is worthy of attention. On the head rests a crossed nimbus, which is seldom if ever used except when a representation is intended of our Lord. A similar nimbus may be seen at Fairford, and a tiny figure remains with a crossed nimbus at Siddington. On each side of the central figure is another, there being no indication as to whom they are intended to represent; but it has been suggested that the one wearing a crown resembles that in another church, which was evidently intended for the Queen of Sheba. In the middle of the window is a shield of arms, which is the same referred to by the Rev. E. Fuller thus: "The coat of arms turned topsy-turvy (in a side window in Trinity Chapel) is in a Langley pedigree given as the coat of Sir John Worth, a connection of the Langley family, but in the Siddington glass he wears the three pellets in chief instead of the three escallops, which appear on the coat of Geoffrey de Langley who went to the Crusades."

THE SOUTH CLERESTORY AND ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL.

In the south clerestory are some crowned shuttles of the weavers, and in St. John's Chapel there are worked up with modern quarries, some old ones which have been allotted to the thirteenth century, but perhaps look more like those of the fourteenth, as there is an absence of cross-hatching, so indicative of the earlier quarries.

While talking of quarries, attention may be drawn to the late fifteenth-century devices in the background of the supposed figure of Margaret Pole, in the lower right-hand corner of the east window at Cirencester. They are in white glass with yellow stain, are particularly well preserved, and are probably intended for the pomegranate pattern common at the time. The whole of this figure, the face and hands and dress, with red frontal and a mantle bearing the ancient Langley arms, is worthy of a better position. Behind the figure of St. John of Beverley, in the west window, are some similar devices, though less distinct; but the pattern of them may be seen in our illustration of this saint.

THE TRINITY CHAPEL.

In the tracery of these windows there are seraphim, depicted in ancient glass, but they are inferior to those in the Lady Chapel. According to the Carles MSS. there were formerly in the Trinity Chapel the Arms of England, of York, Nevil, de Burgh, Castile and Leon, etc., and besides there was the figure of the Duke of York, bearing his arms, and probably other figures with their arms. Heraldic glass is very showy and decorative, so this chapel must have possessed a highly ornamental appearance.

THE NORTH AISLE.

Carles also mentions an east window in this aisle in which there were four panels of stained glass: first and second, the Virgin Mary with the Infant on her arm; third, St. Christopher, with Christ on his shoulder; fourth, St. Catharine, crowned with wheel and sword, now in the large west window; and fifth, a figure supposed by Carles to have been that of Mary Magdalene, with palm branch in her right hand and a cup in her left. The disappearance of most of this glass in comparatively recent times is a fair instance of the manner in which vast quantities of stained glass perished in the eighteenth century. It is said that much old glass was disposed of at the time of the restoration of the church in 1865.

THE EAST WINDOW OF THE CHANCEL.

The stonework of this window appears to have replaced a thirteenth-century window of three lancets, which in their turn probably succeeded one or more small Norman windows, in a semicircular apse.

The glass in this large east window, we are told by the Rev. E. Fuller, was collected together, as in the case of the opposite one, by Mr. Samuel Lysons (that is the portion of it which was then in the church), at the cost of a certain Mrs. Williams, in 1799 or 1800. That portion of the glass which was already in the building forms a considerable part of the whole; but it was not enough to fill the window, and other glass came from the neighbouring parish of Siddington, in addition to which, as in the case of the large west window, modern glass was inserted in order to fill up vacant spaces. Notwithstanding this modern glass, which in the case of the east window was for the most part subsequently removed, this, like the west window, contained some very valuable old glass. We say for the most part removed, because, though some white bordering remains, all the vivid and repellent modern colouring was got rid of.

On January 26th, 1889, a meeting was held to discuss the application for a faculty for the restoration of the interior of the east end of the church, and it was proposed to include the removal of the ancient glass from the east window and the substitution of a modern design. The proposition had been carried so far as to obtain the design and an estimate for a new window; but happily the late Mr. Wilfred Cripps, C.B., raised an objection, urging that it would be extremely unwise to include so far-reaching an alteration as the removal of a large quantity of old and valuable glass in a scheme for the restoration of the interior of the chancel, and he proposed a resolution which excluded the window from consideration, and consequently nothing was done to it till the work of releading was carried out in 1904.

In this year the whole of the glass was examined by the late Mr. James Powell, of Whitefriars, at the instigation of Archdeacon Sinclair, and at the cost of Mrs. Wilfred Cripps. The ugly glass of 1800 was skilfully removed, the window re-leaded and re-arranged, and left as we see it now, with scarcely any defect, except perhaps an excess of white bordering, and exhibiting some excellent work of the fifteenth century. In April, 1904, the window was re-dedicated, "to the Glory of Almighty God, and in memory of Wilfrid Joseph Cripps."

Of this window we see it noted by Mr. Sherrill, that "as a result of careful treatment of tint and drawing there is derived an unexpectedly satisfactory result from the collection of figures in canopies assembled in the five tall lancets of the east window. Seen from the nave this collection is quite cool and silvery, and does not betray its composite nature."

Of all the glass in the window, probably the angels bearing modern shields of arms are the oldest. Indeed, perhaps they are the oldest in the Church, except a few quarries of the fourteenth century. The features and the hair of these figures show a crudeness of drawing in marked contrast to some of the finer work of the small and later figures, though this coarseness of outline was probably in part due to an intention that the designs should be placed high, and far away from the observer, while the figures with delicate outline were proposed for closer observation.

Of the ancient Cirencester glass besides the figures just spoken of there are many specimens in this window, though some glass was removed, perhaps, to make way for the Siddington figures.

In the centre of the principal canopies over the three large figures are to be seen some interesting little figures, such as were a frequent device; though it was a curious idea to place them in that position, as it were looking out from the apertures of the canopy. It is said that they often represented donors. In this case that in the middle light is

PLATE XII.

CIRENCESTER WINDOWS: EARLY FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FIGURES IN EAST WINDOW.

of a woman facing sideways, while the two smaller ones in the side lights have the appearance of ecclesiastics.

On the extreme right and left of the large figures are what may be two angels, and over the right-hand one is a very perfect little picture of an individual kneeling with hands folded in prayer. The design is in brown pigment and yellow stain, with little or no other colour. Corresponding with this supplicant is a diminutive queen, crowned and with hands crossed over her breast. She is sitting with drapery falling over her knees in carefully-drawn folds. This small design is chiefly of brown pigment with blue background, and red above the diminutive canopy, the supports of which extend downwards on either side of the base.

Higher, on the right, is a pretty little representation of a female kneeling under a small flat canopy, with colour well preserved, and on the extreme left another to match. While looking at little gems of stained glass like these, one is surprised at the misappropriated zeal of those who so often moved delicate designs from their original position low down to lofty ones where their beauties are seldom seen. In the centre light, over the arms of Seymour and Gurney or Gourney, may be seen three crowns, and slightly higher are two excellent though small figures kneeling under a canopy, and there are also two demi-figures leaning over shields of arms. On either side of the Seymour and Gurney shields is an inscription. The three large figures in this window and those kneeling underneath will be described as Langley glass.

THE LANGLEY GLASS.

It has been said that when in 1800 the east window was partially filled with old glass, which had previously been in the church, there was not sufficient in a perfect condition to fill it entirely, and that ancient glass was brought from another parish. The circumstances attending this transportation will be noticed later; in the meantime the glass which was called the Langley glass must be described.

It will be better understood if it is divided into three groups. The three large figures from the upper part of the east window in the Langley Chapel in St. Peter's, Siddington; the kneeling figures of various members of the Langley family, also from the same window; and certain other figures from the east window of the chancel, Siddington.

Some remarks will be made about the Langley family later on, but it may be noted here that they first appear as knights holding property in Warwickshire, and at the same time the Manor of Siddington. Later one of the Warwickshire Langleys moved to Knolton, in Kent; and ultimately when the lord of Siddington died without male issue, one of the Knolton family married the Siddington heiress, and their son Edmund built the Langley Chapel, and placed there the greater part of the memorial glass, at any rate all that was in the chapel, about 1480. All the Siddington glass is shown in illustrations in Lysons' *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, therefore we have an opportunity of comparing that which is now in St. John's, Cirencester, with that which was still at St. Peter's, or had recently been there.

THE THREE LARGE FIGURES.

In the upper part of the east window in the Langley Chapel were three large figures which now appear in the east window of the chancel at Cirencester. That in the centre represents the Virgin Mary, the Siddington Chapel having been the Chapel of St. Mary, and resting on the right arm of the Holy Mother was the figure of the Infant Christ. At Siddington in Lysons' time the head of this figure was wanting, but it evidently had worn a crown and carried a sceptre. The dress was as now, the ancient glass having been preserved, namely of blue, red, and ermine, with an ermine border, and there were remains of long, yellow hair. The head has been restored, following the indications of what remained in the window. The lower part of the child's figure was covered by the red dress of the mother, but the upper part was undraped,

with upturned face and golden hair. Curiously, scarcely anything remains of the infant figure, except a mere trace of the colour of the hair. It would look as if both the head of the Virgin and the figure of the infant had been lost, and as if the latter had been painted in with enamel paint on clear glass without fusing in the furnace, and that almost the whole of the enamel paint had perished. But this can only be decided by a careful examination of the glass.

On each side of the Virgin was a female saint, as now, with no symbols to show their personality. The head of the right-hand figure was wanting. There was a small cross in the left hand and a bunch of flowers in the right. There had evidently been a nimbus on the head; and the dress was chiefly red, blue, and ermine, with yellow border, which was jewelled. The left-hand saint held a sceptre and branch of a tree. She also had a nimbus; and her dress was red, green, yellow, and ermine, with gilded cord and tassel hanging in front. Altogether these saints were and are sumptuously attired, and they have what Lysons called regal mantles. Since Lysons made his illustration the head of the left-hand figure also disappeared; but all three have been restored.

The large figures had backgrounds of white with yellow stain; and below the Virgin was an inscription, "Regina ora pro nobis." Above were two shields of arms, which may be seen now in the window in St. John's. They are those of Sir Nicholas Seymour and Sir Thomas Gurney. Quite across the window ran an inscription requesting prayers for Edmund Langley, and Jone and Elizabeth his two wives, the founders of the Chapel of St. Mary.

THE KNEELING FIGURES OF THE LANGLEYS.

Below were other figures of the Langley family, kneeling with their hands folded before them. The very great similarity in the designs of all the panels of these kneeling figures, one of which we give in an illustration, is striking; and the same may be said of the donors in the west window

at Cirencester. Evidently such figures were considered subsidiary, and the artist did not trouble himself to show originality. There were seven of the Langleys in the window at Siddington, but only five have survived, and can now be seen at Cirencester. The names of the men, all in plate armour, were Benet (Benedict), Richard, Walter, and three Williams, also Edmund, the founder of the chapel. Besides these there was a lady kneeling with her children, also a man and a woman, the man in the garb of a merchant; and Lysons thought the date of the dresses about the time of Edward IV., from 1461 to 1483, which is the date usually associated with all the glass from the Langley Chapel, and agrees with the pedigree of the Langleys.

These kneeling figures carry long swords, have helmets on the ground beside them, and they wore rouelle spurs. Behind each man is a table and a book, a very common form of background. Their surcoats bear their arms, but not those used by the main stock, whether in Warwickshire or originally in Siddington, but the arms as used by the family at Knolton, Kent, a shield with quarterly per fesse indented or and azure, with the addition of a crescent, probably being a mark of cadence. It usually indicated a second son and his descendants. Every one of these men is described as Armiger or Esquire, though one or two of them are spoken of as knights. There appears no evidence why they adopted a different coat of arms from that of their ancestors. These men lived from 1330 to 1500. About 1350 the second William went to Knolton, and his third son, Walter, married Isabel, the heiress of John of Siddington; and their son Edmund built the Langley Chapel and inserted the memorial glass. The descendants of Walter held Siddington till the reign of Henry VII., when they ceased in the male line.

THE FIGURES IN THE CHANCEL WINDOW, SIDDINGTON.

Besides the glass above described, there were in the chancel at Siddington some more figures—how many is not

PLATE XIII.

CIRENCESTER WINDOWS: KNEELING LANGLEY FIGURE.

known. Lysons had a separate illustration of this window which contained four figures, though there were probably more even in his time, as there is now in the east window at Cirencester the figure of a woman kneeling of exactly the same size, and wearing on her mantle the same arms as the figure of a knight, also in the east window, which is known to have been at Siddington.

The most important person depicted in the chancel there was Sir John Langley, apparently the Sir John who was lord of the Manor of Siddington 1272, Sheriff of Gloucestershire, and lord of Mylcock and Atherstone. He was represented as kneeling with upraised hands in a position intended to indicate reverence, which may also be seen in the figures of donors in the large west window of St. John's. The Siddington figure had his hands covered with mittens of mail, carried a sword and spear, and wore a coat of mail; also he used what must have been an early kind of rouelle spur with long, sharp spikes, but different from the primitive single pryck spur. Both body, arms, and legs were covered by the chain armour; and on the head was what looks like a coif of mail. Attached to the spear was an oblong banner showing the arms of the knight, which also appear on his surcoat, being the arms of the family as they were shown in early rolls—arg. a fesse sable in chief, three pellets or ogresses. This figure has disappeared, and from an archæological point of view its loss is great, since figures so completely armed of the same date, and carrying their banner, must be rare in stained glass.

The second man was also in a coat of mail, but with bare head, and carrying neither spear nor banner. Beside him was the kneeling figure of a woman, presumably his wife, who wore a handkerchief head-dress and a pink robe. This second mailed figure was probably meant for Sir John the second, of Siddington and Atherstone, son of Sir John of Mylcock and father of Margaret Langley, to be mentioned later.

The third knight shown in Lysons' illustration was evidently intended to personate someone who had lived at a rather later date, and happily the glass is neither lost nor destroyed, but survives in the Cirencester window. It may be seen in the lowest tier on the extreme left, and represents a knight in plate armour, who wears what may have been intended as that form of helmet known as a bassinet, with below it a neck-piece or carmail. He carries his sword, and under the figure are inscribed the words, "Johēs Worth, Miles," the last signifying a knight. The armour is of a later date than that of the other two knights, and would about tally with the time at which Sir John Worth is known to have married Bridget Seymour, a descendant on her mother's side of the Langleys of Warwickshire.

Lysons thought that the name of Worth was erroneously applied to this figure, because on the surcoat it had the old Langley arms, as worn by the other two knights already mentioned; but it seems that Worth did use arms which were those of the Langleys. At any rate, the Rev. E. Fuller says that a shield of arms formerly in the Trinity Chapel, Cirencester, and now in the Lady Chapel, a fesse, three escallops in chief, is found in a Langley pedigree associated with Worth.

That some of the Langleys used three escallops instead of three pellets is attested by several Rolls of Arms. The escallop was a pilgrim sign; and it is said that some men who had been to the Holy Land assumed the charge of escallops on their shields of arms in commemoration of the fact. We know that Geoffrey of Warwickshire went to the Crusades; so it seems probable that he adopted the escallop shell on his arms in consequence. His brother Walter is described as using the pellets; but his son Edmund wore escallops in chief.

In the right-hand corner of the Cirencester window, John Worth being in the left, is the figure of a female kneeling with her hands upraised, as in the case of the male figure. She wears the same Langley arms on her mantle, and her name

appears to be Margaret. There were several Margarets in the Langley pedigree, notably the one who was the daughter and heiress of Sir John of Siddington and Atherstone, who married Richard Pole, Sergeant-at-Law, and whose daughter Isabel married Walter Langley of Knolton, thus uniting the Siddington branch with the Knolton, and restoring the name—only for one generation however, since neither John nor Edmund, sons of Walter, had a son and heir.

This completes the description of the Langley glass; but something will be said later of the Langleys themselves. It also completes the description of the whole of the ancient glass now in St. John's, Cirencester. Two small figures and some canopy work and some bordering have recently been brought to light from amongst the discarded glass of 1800; and it is hoped that they may be inserted in one of the windows now containing plain cathedral glass. At the time of the restoration of the church in 1865 it appears, according to the specification of Sir Gilbert Scott, architect, that all the windows excluding the east and west, and a few others which possibly contained modern stained glass, were re-leaded and filled with so-called cathedral glass.

CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH THE REMOVAL OF THE LANGLEY GLASS FROM SIDDINGTON, 1799.

With regard to this removal Lysons has something to say. Lysons was an antiquary of note, and would hardly, one would think, have advocated the removal of ancient glass from one church to another, unless he thought such a procedure was the best plan for the preservation of that glass. As a fact, in his *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, published in 1803, not long after the glass had been removed, he appended a note to one of his illustrations, in which he says: "These figures were in great danger of being destroyed in their original situation." Apparently for this reason they were removed by the permission of the authority who was believed to have jurisdiction over the Langley Chapel, and probably over the

chancel also. We find a similar account in *Beauties of England and Wales—Gloucestershire.*

When the old glass was brought from Siddington in 1799 the sill of the east window in St. John's, Cirencester, was lowered to admit the panels with the kneeling Langley figures; and so it remained until the restoration, at which time it was thought fit to again raise the sill, and the figures were taken out. Hearing of this, the parishioners of Siddington made an application asking that the whole of the Langley glass might be returned. The Cirencester Vestry, doubtless considering that it could not take upon itself to adjudicate on a transaction which had taken place more than half a century before, replied that the glass which had been taken out should be returned at once, and the other when it could be satisfactorily replaced.

The next event in the history of this glass occurred about thirty years later. In 1892 members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, having seen the glass which was returned to Siddington about 1865, expressed their opinion, through a resolution proposed at a meeting of the Society, that the glass should at once be reinstated in the windows of St. Peter's; and they also ventured to hope that the remainder of the Langley glass might be restored to its original position. At the suggestion of the Secretary a resolution to the above effect was proposed by the President, Mr. Wilfred Cripps, who subsequently stated that he had moved the resolution on general principles, but the glass had been so long at Cirencester that it had become the property of that place, and had been given to Siddington (meaning evidently the figures which had been returned) on condition that it should be reinstated. And the President went on to say that if it were not used he should do all he could to get it back to Cirencester, which was as much interested in the Langley family as Siddington. A member of the Society then pointed out that the Langleys, who were lords of the Manor of Siddington, were lords also of Chesterton, now a

portion of Cirencester. It will be remembered that there is in the west window of St. John's a figure of John Langley of Siddington and Chesterton.

In 1903, about eleven years later, it was brought to the knowledge of Mr. Cripps that the glass had not been reinstated, and that those who had it in charge appeared no longer anxious to retain it. Mr. Cripps then communicated the information to the Vicar of Cirencester, and he, Archdeacon Sinclair, obtained a view of the glass, which he found in an attic in a farmhouse, partly in a box and partly on the floor. Arrangement was then made with the authorities at Siddington for the return once more of the glass, or so much of it as remained, to Cirencester, six pounds being paid by Mr. Cripps to conclude the arrangement. So the kneeling figures of the Langley family were replaced beneath the larger figures of the Holy Virgin and the two saints beside her, if not in the chapel the Langleys had erected, yet in the adjoining parish church which already contained memorials of them, and wherein their effigies could be safely preserved, and due respect paid to the memory of Edmund Langley and his two wives, Joan and Elizabeth, the second wife having been a daughter of John Tame of Fairford, who built a house in Cirencester.

Associated with the fabric of a church like that of Cirencester there is always a fund of historical detail, and when, as here, there is much ancient glass, that often comprises a large part of such history.

THE FAMILY OF LANGLEY, OF WARWICKSHIRE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE AND KENT.

Amongst the most interesting of the historical details connected with the Church of St. John, Cirencester, are the facts connected with the family of Langley, of Pinley in the county of Warwick, Siddington in Gloucestershire, and Knolton in Kent. Besides these seats they held many

other manors, chiefly in Warwickshire. The first member of the family who is known to history is Galfrus, or Geoffrey de Langley, of Pinley, Warwickshire, temp. Hen. II. He also owned Harborough Magna, and other places. Not much, however, is known of him, but his son Geoffrey was a very notable character. Dugdale, in his *History of Warwickshire*, says that he was a very austere man, and consequently not popular with those in his own sphere of life, nevertheless he was a favourite at Court. He was Marshal of the king's household, and had a charter of free warren, was Governor of the Castle of Rockhampton, and he had custody of Windsor Castle. However, he made himself so disliked that the king sent him to Scotland as governor to the young Queen of Scots.

He had three sons, John, Walter, and Geoffrey. The first, John, described as of Mylcock, appears also to have owned the Manor of Siddington, and was Sheriff of Gloucestershire 1st Ed. I., 1272. He was probably the knight depicted in the chancel window at Siddington, wearing chain armour, and carrying a spear with oblong banner attached, on which were his arms, which also may be seen on his surcoat, arg. a fesse sable in chief, three pellets. Only knights of a certain position might, with the king's consent, carry such a banner into battle, and they were called knights banneret.

Walter, the second son of Geoffrey, had a daughter, Christian, and her daughter married Sir Nicholas Seymour, whose arms are in the east window at Cirencester, and their daughter Bridget married Sir John Worth, whose figure also is in the same window.

The Seymours and the Gourneys were old Gloucestershire families, and were retainers of the Lords of Berkeley, of whom the Gourneys were relations. A Seymour accompanied Sir Maurice Berkeley to the war in France in 1326. Their arms were arg. two chevronels gu. with a file of five arg. The shield of arms beside that of Seymour in the east window at Cirencester is of Sir Thomas Gourney or Gurney, and the arms are paley of six or and azure. They are given on a seal

in Dallaway's *Heraldry of England.* In Bristol Cathedral there is a monument to Robert de Gourney, 1269; he was second son, which perhaps meant step-son of Robert Fitzharding, and heir to his uncle, Maurice de Gaunt, and joint founder with him of the Hospital of St. Mark, Billeswick. The Gourneys are said to have been implicated in the murder of Edward II., 1327. Sir Thomas Gourney had an estate at Siddington called Burbashes, which had been derived by the Langleys from a family of that name.

Walter Langley, the second son of Geoffrey, is believed to have had a son William who was progenitor of the Kentish or Knolton branch of the Langleys. The third son, Geoffrey, received the sign of the Cross, or "took the Cross," as it was usually said, before going to the Holy Land; and it was he who appears to have assumed the charges on his arms of three escallops in chief. It was of frequent occurrence that a person returning home from a crusade should as often as possible display the arms which he had carried through the battles in which he had fought during the Holy Wars; and to make the fact more evident he would sometimes emblazon his coat with one or more escallop shells, which were looked upon as a pilgrim sign. Thus we find this Geoffrey using for arms arg. a fesse sable in chief, three escallops, instead of three pellets; and according to old Rolls of Arms his son Edmund also used the same charges. These are the arms which are in the window in the Lady Chapel at Cirencester. On his return from the Holy Land Geoffrey went with the Earl of Lancaster into France.

In the history of this family we meet frequently with the Manor of Atherstone, Warwickshire. It was given by the king to Geoffrey the second, and his son John of Mylcock and Siddington held it of the king by a pair of gilt spurs. At his death it seems not to have passed straight to his son, but to his brother Geoffrey the third, and afterwards to have reverted to this man's nephew, John the second of Siddington.

We have seen that one of the Langleys moved from

Warwickshire to Knolton in Kent. He seems to have been a grandson of Walter of Warwickshire; and Hasted in his *History of Kent* tells us that he was a man of much repute in the county, having been Sheriff and Justice of the Peace, by which designation Hasted probably means Justiciary, a term in use during the early centuries after the Conquest, which meant a person of much more importance than a Justice of the Peace as we understand it now. Justiciaries were usually spoken of as connected with their county towns. Probably William Langley was Justiciary of Canterbury, as the arms of the family were carved on the stonework of the cloisters of the cathedral, which were built not long after the time of William Langley.

This William had a grandson, Walter, who married Isabel Pole, heiress of John of Siddington, who died without male issue, thus uniting the two branches of Siddington and Knolton, or rather uniting the Knolton branch to the original branch by marriage. The father of Isabel, Richard Pole, Sergeant-at-Law, who married Margaret Langley about 1320, would seem probably to have been of the family of de la Pole, of Gloucestershire. There is mention of a William and Richard de la Pole, merchants of Bristol 1340, and of Michael de la Pole, who was made Chancellor 1383, and Earl of Suffolk in 1385.

Walter and Isabel had a son Edmund, who built the Langley Chapel and inserted the memorial glass, with figures of himself and a number of his relations. Langleys continued to live at Knolton till the end of the fourteenth century or beginning of the fifteenth, and at Siddington till rather later, when both branches of the family died out in the male line.

It has been stated that the arms of the old Warwickshire family were arg. a fesse sable in chief, three pellets, which coat was varied by Geoffrey the third, who used three escallops instead of three pellets; but for some unknown reason the Knolton branch changed their arms to quarterly per fesse indented or and azure. In the church at Knolton there were

in Hasted's time several memorials to the Langley family; and there had been an effigy which was destroyed. Also at Tilmaston in the same neighbourhood there were figures of a Langley and his two wives. On the surcoat of this man was a representation of the arms of the ancient Warwickshire family, as well as the arms used by the Knolton branch. The coat on the figure at Tilmaston was quarterly 1 and 4 per pale and fesse indented, 2 and 3 a fesse in chief three roundles, thus uniting the coats of the original stock and their descendants of Knolton.

AUTHORITIES.

A list of most of the authorities consulted during the writing of these notes is appended, and the writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Harrison, then Librarian of the Bingham Library, Cirencester, now at the Free Library, Cheltenham, for most valuable assistance. He also desires to express appreciation of the courtesy with which the Vicar, the Rev. W. A. Robins, M.A., has permitted a somewhat frequent inspection of the windows.

The illustrations are from photographs, four of which are kindly lent by Mrs. Wilfred Cripps, the negatives being by Mr. Dennis Moss. of Cirencester, and the fifth illustration, of St. John of Beverley, is from a block in the possession of Messrs. Methuen, publishers.

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ADDITIONS TO, AND NOTES ON, THE "DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF PRINTED MAPS OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 1577–1911," BY T. CHUBB.*

By ROLAND AUSTIN.

THE "Descriptive Catalogue of the Printed Maps of Gloucestershire, 1577–1911," prepared with so much care by Mr. Thomas Chubb, of the Map Room, British Museum, is of the greatest value to those interested in the cartography of the county. In his preface Mr. Chubb mentions that the CATALOGUE may not be complete, and as a contribution towards a Supplementary List it is the purpose of these notes to give particulars of maps which were not included, and of a few published since 1911; to add information relating to some known to Mr. Chubb but not seen by him; and to make a few slight corrections. I had hoped that Mr. Chubb would have prepared the List himself, but the demands on his time have prevented this, though he has very kindly looked through it, and, more than that, has placed at my service particulars of over twenty additional maps which he has met with. I have retained the form which the List took before receiving these additions, and have placed an asterisk against the numbers of the maps described by Mr. Chubb, so that I may give him full recognition for his substantial contribution.

In bibliography there is no finality; and as time goes on probably further additions may yet be met with. If so, their record in the *Transactions* will be of value.

For convenience of reference each map is numbered, and the numbers used in the index of names of authors,

* Issued by the Society in 1912 as a separate volume.

engravers, publishers, and titles which is appended to this List.

1614.

1.* A REPRINT OF J. SPEED'S MAP OF 1610.

In THE THEATRE OF THE EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAINE . . . DESCRIBED BY JOHN SPEED. IMPRINTED AT LONDON. ANNO . . . 1614. AND ARE TO BE SOLDE BY JOHN SUDBURY & GEORG HUMBLE, IN POPES-HEAD ALLEY AT YE SIGNE OF YE WHITE HORSE.

A somewhat highly-coloured impression of the first issue. The text on the back (pages 47 and 48) is reset. This edition may be identified by the register Ee, that on the first issue having been L2.

1627.

2.* ANOTHER EDITION OF P. KEER'S SMALL MAP OF 1599.

In ENGLAND WALES SCOTLAND AND IRELAND DESCRIBED AND ABRIDGED WITH YE HISTORIE RELATION OF THINGS WORTHY MEMORY FROM A FAR LARGER VOLUME DONE BY JOHN SPEED. AND ARE TO BE SOULD BY GEORG HUMBLE AT YE WHIT HORSE IN POPESHEAD ALLEY. ANNO CUM PRIVILEGIO, 1627.

A re-issue of the 1620 edition, the text on the back being reset. This issue may be identified by the capital letter C in the word "Circumference" in line 6 of the text, which in the earlier issue was in small type.

This is probably the first issue of the 1627 edition of Keer's small atlas. The only copy so far known is in the possession of Mr. John E. Pritchard, of Bristol.

Mr. Chubb considers this a "true edition" of Speed's *England*, and now describes the copies in the British Museum as the second issues, the letterpress being re-set. He assigns the date of the latter as 1630. The note to "A Reprint of P. Keer's Map of 1620" on page 20 of the CATALOGUE must therefore be cancelled, and the edition described as entirely re-set. The title in Mr. Pritchard's copy reads "And are to bee sould." Following from this, the note to the 1646 "Edition of Keer's Map of 1599" on page 23 of the

CATALOGUE must also be cancelled, and the map described as a reprint of the 1630 (or second) issue.

1648.

3.* A REPRINT OF BLAEU'S MAP OF 1645.

In GUIL. ET JOANNIS BLAEU THEATRUM ORBIS TERRARUM, SIVE ATLAS NOVUS. PARS QUARTA. AMSTERDAMI, APUD IOHANNEM BLAEU. 1648.

The map is the same as the Dutch edition described on page 26 of the CATALOGUE. The text on the back, pages 167 and 168, is in Latin. The register, on page 167, is Fff.

The preface of this volume is dated "Sept. An. MDCXLV." The title-page bears evidence of the date having been corrected from 1645 to 1648.

See also 65 *infra*.

1731.

4. A REPRINT OF EMANUEL BOWEN'S MAP OF 1720.

See CATALOGUE, p. 51. A copy of the fourth edition of *Britannia Depicta* is in the Gloucester Public Library. The title reads as given in the CATALOGUE, p. 48, with the following substituted after the word "Engraver":—

> The fourth Edition. Printed & Sold by Tho: Bowles Print & Map Seller in St. Pauls Ch Yard 1731

1744.

5.* AN IMPROVED MAP OF GLOUCESTER S. CONTAINING THE BOROUGH AND MARKET TOWNS, WITH THOSE ADJOYNING; ALSO, ITS PRINCIPAL ROADS AND RIVERS, BY I. COWLEY, GEOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY. ENGLISH MILES, 15 [=1⅜ inch]. 7 × 5¼ in.

In THE GEOGRAPHY OF ENGLAND: DONE IN THE MANNER OF GORDON'S GEOGRAPHICAL GRAMMAR. . . . TO EACH COUNTY IS PREFIX'D A COMPLEAT MAPP . . . ALSO A SEPARATE MAPP OF ENGLAND . . . LONDON: PRINTED FOR R. DODSLEY, AT TULLY'S HEAD IN PALL MALL, M,DCC,XLIV. 8vo.

A clearly-engraved map, showing towns, Forest of Dean, main roads, and rivers.

Top left-hand corner, on a piece of drapery suspended by nails, the title; and below a circular compass indicator. Bottom left-hand corner, the scale. Bottom right-hand corner, the "Explanation."

The border is formed by a fine line with a double inner line marked off into degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude. Below the border: "Deg. West Long. from London."

The map is placed in the book at page 64, and is accompanied by five pages of letterpress.

1745.

6.* A REPRINT OF COWLEY'S MAP OF 1744.

In A NEW SETT OF POCKET MAPPS OF ALL THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES, SHEWING THE SITUATION OF ALL CITIES, BOROUGHS, MARKET-TOWNS, AND MOST CONSIDERABLE VILLAGES, WITH THE DISTANCES BETWEEN EACH . . TOGETHER WITH A SEPARATE MAPP OF ENGLAND . . . LONDON: PRINTED FOR R. DODSLEY IN PALL-MALL, AND M. COOPER IN PATER-NOSTER ROW. 1745. 4to.

An unaltered impression of the 1744 issue.

A copy of this atlas has recently been acquired by the Cambridge University Library.

1760.

7. ANOTHER ISSUE OF EMANUEL BOWEN'S MAP OF 1760.

The map is dated "MLCCLX," but the imprint differs from the one given in the CATALOGUE, p. 63, and reads:—

> Printed for Carington Bowles in St. Pauls Church Yard, Robt. Sayer at the Golden Buck in Fleet Street, & John Bowles at the Black Horse in Cornhil.

Copies of this Map are in the Gloucester Public Library, and in Mr. J. E. Pritchard's collection. The boundaries of the hundreds are coloured. The number "15" is printed in the upper and lower right-hand corners.

On the map (1763) described in the CATALOGUE, pp. 66–67, the number "13" is altered by hand to 15. The number on the map mentioned above shows no sign of

alteration. Mr. Chubb thinks this was probably issued after the map dated 1763. The date 1760 (with its misprint) appears on all the editions.

1768.

8.* A REPRINT OF KITCHIN'S MAP OF 1764.

In KITCHEN'S (*sic*) ENGLISH ATLAS: OR, A COMPLEAT SET OF MAPS OF ALL THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES . . . BY THOMAS KITCHEN, GEOGRAPHER TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK. LONDON: PRINTED FOR J. DODSLEY, IN PALL-MALL. [1768.] 8vo.

Precisely the same as the 1764 issue (CATALOGUE, p. 68). The date is uncertain, and the work may have been issued any time after 1764, the date of Robert Dodsley's death.

1777.

9. A RE-ISSUE OF EMANUEL BOWEN'S "ACCURATE MAP" OF 1762.

This map is described under date 1762 (CATALOGUE, pp. 65–66), the only difference being in the imprint, which is:—

> London, Printed for Robt. Sayer & John Bennett, No. 53, Fleet Street. John Bowles, No. 13, Cornhill, & Carrington Bowles, No. 69, St. Pauls Church Yard, as the Act directs. 1st of June 1777.

The words "A Re-issue of Bowen's Large Map of 1760" in the CATALOGUE, p. 73, should read as given above.

The colouring of the boundaries of the hundreds is bolder than in the map of 1762. There is also a copy of this map without colouring in the Gloucester Public Library, though unfortunately the margins have been trimmed close to the border and the imprint lost, so it cannot be seen if it varies from others.

Sir George H. Fordham (*Hertfordshire Maps*, p. 68) says that with the exception of ten all the maps in *The English Atlas* are dated June 1, 1777, and that of Gloucestershire is one of five without date. The copy described here is

in the Gloucester Public Library, and the imprint corresponds with that on the map of Hertfordshire (*op. cit.*, p. 67).

1779.

10*. A REPRINT OF J. GIBSON'S MAP OF 1760. *See* CATALOGUE, p. 64.

In NEW AND ACCURATE MAPS OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND . . . BY J. GIBSON. LONDON: PRINTED FOR T. CARNAN & F. NEWBERY, JR. 1779. 12mo.

A copy of this issue is in the Douce Collection, Bodleian Library.

It is advertised in *Lloyd's Evening Post* for May 22–24, 1759: "This day were publish'd . . . New and Accurate Maps of the Counties of England. . . . Printed by J. Newbery," etc.

1789.

11. A NEW MAP OF GLOCESTERSHIRE. A SCALE OF MILES 16 [$=3\frac{15}{16}$ inches]. $15\frac{3}{4} \times 17\frac{1}{4}$ in.

In A TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY . . . [*See* title in CATALOGUE, p. 85.] BY WILLIAM TUNNICLIFF, LAND-SURVEYOR. BATH: 1789. 8vo.

A clearly-engraved map, showing market towns, villages, gentlemen's seats, mines, main roads (carried across the boundary and showing destination), county boundaries, the Stroudwater Canal, and divisions of the hundreds.

Top left-hand corner, the title within a coloured oval panel surrounded by a wreath of leaves and flowers of the scarlet pimpernel (conventionalised).

Bottom right-hand corner the "Explanation." To the left of this the scale, and above a star-compass indicator. The border is formed by a thick line and a thin inner line.

1796.

12. A SKETCH OF GLOCESTERSHIRE AND ITS ENVIRONS.

See CATALOGUE, p. 88. A reprint of the map in the first edition of *The Rural Economy of Glocestershire*, the date

of publication being altered in the imprint to "Decr. 1st, 1796," and the engraver is given as "Mutlow, sct., Russel Court."

1805.

13.* ANOTHER COPY OF CARY'S MAP OF 1789, AS RE-ISSUED IN CAMDEN'S BRITANNIA, 1806.

In NEW BRITISH ATLAS, BEING A COMPLETE SET OF COUNTY MAPS, ON WHICH ARE DELINEATED ALL THE ROADS, CITIES, TOWNS, VILLAGES, RIVERS & CANALS; TOGETHER WITH CORRECT GENERAL MAPS OF ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND & IRELAND. LONDON PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY, 1805, fol.

1805.

14.* GLOCESTERSHIRE. NEELE SCULP, STRAND. LONDON. PUBLISHED AS THE ACT DIRECTS. AUGUST 10th 1805 BY J. WILKES. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{5}{8}$ in.

In ENCYCLOPÆDIA LONDINENSIS; OR, UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY . . . BY JOHN WILKES . . . VOLUME VIII. LONDON: PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY J. ADLARD . . . 1810. 4to.

A clearly-engraved map, very similar to Neele's map of 1818, issued in *The New British Traveller* . . . By James Dugdale, 1819. (CATALOGUE, pp. 105–106.)

Shows towns, principal villages, parks, Forest of Dean, roads, and rivers.

Bottom right-hand corner, a finely-engraved compass indicator. The detail breaks into the border on the East and West. The border is formed by a thick and a thin line, with a double inner line marked off into degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude. Below the border, the title, imprint, and engraver's name.

1812.

15.* A REPRINT OF CARY'S QUARTO MAP OF 1787.

In CARY'S NEW AND CORRECT ENGLISH ATLAS . . . LONDON, 1812. 4to.

This is mentioned by Sir H. G. Fordham in the Supplement to his *Hertfordshire Maps*, where he states that the maps are re-dated 1812.

1818.

16.* ANOTHER COPY OF THE MAP ENGRAVED BY NEELE. IN THE NEW BRITISH TRAVELLER, ETC. *See* CATALOGUE, p. 105.

In ROBINS'S ATLAS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, ACCURATELY ENGRAVED BY NEELE, FROM THE LATEST SURVEYS. [VIEW OF LONDON FROM THE S.W. J. GREIG DEL ET SCULP.] LONDON, PUBLISHED BY I. ROBINS AND CO. ALBION PRESS. 1819. sm. 4 to.

The map is dated 1818.

1820.

17.* A REPRINT OF LANGLEY'S MAP OF 1817.

In LANGLEY'S NEW COUNTY ATLAS OF ENGLAND AND WALES . . . LONDON: PUBLISHED BY JOSEPH PHELPS, 27, PATERNOSTER ROW, [1820.] 4to.

Precisely the same as the first issue (CATALOGUE, p. 104).

1820.

18.* [MAP OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.]

In THE PANORAMA, OR INSTRUCTIVE GUIDE THROUGH ENGLAND AND WALES, PRINTED BY J. WALLIS, BERWICK STREET, SOHO, & PUBLISHED BY W H. REID, CHARING CROSS. [1820.] 12mo.

The work is not dated, but there are references to events of 1819. It contains coloured maps of each county, which bear a strong resemblance to those in *Darton's Miniature Atlas*. (*See* No. 19.)

Mr. R. P. L. Booker, of Eton College, has a copy of this Atlas.

[1822.]

19. GLOCESTERSH. SCALE OF MILES 10 [= ½ inch]. LONDON: WILLIAM DARTON, 58, HOLBORN HILL. $4\frac{3}{16} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

In DARTON'S NEW MINIATURE ATLAS CONTAINING A COMPLETE SET OF COUNTY MAPS, IN WHICH ARE CAREFULLY

DELINEATED ALL THE PRINCIPAL DIRECT & CROSS ROADS, CITIES, TOWNS, VILLAGES, PARKS, SEATS, RIVERS & NAVIGABLE CANALS WITH GENERAL MAP OF ENGLAND & WALES. LONDON. PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM DARTON, 58, HOLBORN HILL.

A coloured map, showing the chief roads and principal towns.

Top left-hand corner, the scale; bottom right-hand corner, the title, and above this an arrow pointing north. In the top right-hand corner is the figure "40." Imprint below the bottom border.

The border is formed by one thick line between two fine ones, with degrees marked between these and an inner border.

The map is accompanied by two pages of letterpress, the recto being numbered "40."

When preparing the CATALOGUE of Gloucestershire Maps, Mr. Chubb dated the *Atlas*, which he had not then seen, as [1840], (*see* CATALOGUE, p. 136), though he felt this was uncertain. Before publishing his *Maps of Somerset* a copy was brought to his notice by Mr. H. E. Norris, of Cirencester, and in describing the Map of Somerset he corrected the date of the *Atlas*—a reprint of R. Miller's *New Miniature Atlas*—to [1820]. (*Maps of Somerset*, p. 87.)

In looking carefully through the volume, I find that in the letterpress accompanying the map of Yorkshire the population of that county is mentioned as "now (1821) estimated . . ." The date of publication may therefore be assumed as 1822.

In consequence of seeing this copy, Mr. Chubb assigned the date [1810] to Miller's *New Miniature Atlas*, instead of [1825] as given in the CATALOGUE, p. 115.

1828.

20. ANOTHER EDITION OF JOHN CARY'S MAP OF 1801, AS ISSUED BY WILLIAM SMITH, 1819. $19\frac{3}{16} \times 22\frac{3}{16}$ in.

In this map W. Smith's title, as in the 1819 issue, is printed at the top, above the border; the date below the title is corrected to 1828; and the imprint on the 1819

(CATALOGUE, p. 107) and 1821 (CATALOGUE, p. 108) editions is omitted. The panels are plain, and the map is coloured to show the hundreds only, not the geological formations.

In his *Hertfordshire Maps*, p. 193, Sir H. G. Fordham states that he has notes of a map by Cary of this date, and that there was, no doubt, an issue of his *New English Atlas* of 1828, but he had not seen a copy. The map in the Gloucester Public Library is enclosed in a slip-case, on which is a printed label, with title as follows :—

> Cary's New Map of the County of Gloucester, Divided into Hundreds ; exhibiting The Whole of the Turnpike and Cross Roads, the Course of the Rivers, Market and Borough Towns, Parishes, Hamlets, Parks, &c. London : Published by G. and J. Cary, 86, St James's Street.

1830.

21.* A REPRINT OF TEESDALE'S MAP OF 1829.

In NEW BRITISH ATLAS . . . CORRECTED TO THE YEAR 1830. LONDON. PUBLISHED BY HENRY TEESDALE & CO. fol.

The first issue is described in the CATALOGUE, pp. 118–119.

Cambridge University Library has recently secured a copy of this issue.

[*Circa* 1832–1842.]

22. GLOCESTERSHIRE, DIVIDED INTO HUNDREDS, AND THE PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS. SCALE OF MILES, 10 [=3 INCHES]. LONDON : WILLIAM DARTON & SON : HOLBORN HILL. 14 × 18 in.

Another edition of Thos. Dix's map of 1816 (CATALOGUE, p. 104), the area covered being the same. Coloured in hundreds. The following differences are noted. The lines of latitude and longitude are carried across the map, excepting where there are printed particulars, etc. The inscription in the top left-hand corner is altered to "Tewkesbury Church." The compass indicator is replaced by a "Note" of the parliamentary divisions of the county—which date the map as after 1832 — the number of members returned and the

population, the figures given approximating to the returns of the census of 1831. To the right of the "Note" is a list of market towns and market days, below which is the scale. To the right of these is the Title and "Explanation," which is fuller than in Dix's map. Imprint, below the border.

The Eastern and Western parliamentary divisions are shown, but no railways. The map may be dated between 1832 and 1842. Mr. Chubb (*Maps of Somerset*, p. 106) dates a somewhat similar map of Somerset as [1834].

1833.

23. ANOTHER EDITION OF JOHN CARY'S MAP OF 1801, AS ISSUED BY WILLIAM SMITH IN 1819. 19 × 21$\frac{13}{16}$ in.

In addition to the characteristics mentioned in the CATALOGUE, pp. 91–92, the map shows the chief places of county elections, polling places, and boroughs returning members.

The inscription above the upper border is retained; the date below the title is corrected to 1833. To the left of the title is the "Explanation." The map is coloured to show the geological formations and so also are the panels relating to them.

Below the bottom border the imprint, and notes that geological tables of British Fossils, and a geological section of the road from London to Brighton, could be obtained from the Publisher.

I am indebted to Mr. F. A. Hyett, of Painswick House, for allowing me to see this map.

1833.

24.* A REPRINT OF TEESDALE'S MAP OF 1829.

In NEW BRITISH ATLAS . . . BY H. TEESDALE. LONDON, 1833. fol.

A copy of this edition is in the Signet Library, Edinburgh,

1834.

25.* A REPRINT OF CARY'S LARGE MAP OF 1801.

In CARY'S NEW ENGLISH ATLAS . . . LONDON, 1834. fol.

Mr. R. P. L. Booker, of Eton College, possesses a copy of this issue of the Atlas.

1835.

26. GLOUCESTERSHIRE. SCALE, 10 MILES [$=1\frac{3}{8}$ inches].
$7\frac{3}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{8}$ in.

In CURIOSITIES IN GREAT BRITAIN, ENGLAND AND WALES DELINEATED: HISTORICAL, ENTERTAINING, AND COMMERCIAL, WITH VALUABLE MARGINAL REFERENCES TO INTERESTING NOTES . . . AND AN ALPHABETICAL ARRANGEMENT OF EVERY CITY, BOROUGH, MARKET TOWN, VILLAGE, OR HAMLET . . . ILLUSTRATED BY ENGRAVINGS, AND A COLOURED MAP OF EACH COUNTY . . . BY THOMAS JONES, ANTIQUARIAN. THE MAPS REVISED ACCORDING TO SURVEYS, EXECUTED BY THE HONOURABLE BOARD OF ORDNANCE. LONDON: PUBLISHED BY TALLIS & CO., 2, NORTHAMPTON SQUARE. 1835. 2 vols. 8vo.

Preceding the title-page is a half-title, as follows:—

> Curiosities of (*sic*) Great Britain . . . By Thomas Dugdale, Antiquarian. Assisted by William Burnett. [View of] Tintern Abbey. London, Tallis & Co.

The first edition of the work described in the CATALOGUE under various dates, pp. 135, 140, 144, 152. The earliest date assigned there is [1840].

The map of Gloucestershire is in volume 2, between pp. 838–839. It is a poorly-printed map, showing towns, villages, hundreds (their boundaries coloured), parks, castles, abbeys and priories, encampments, places where coins have been found, roads, turnpike gates, Roman stations and roads, and polling places.

Title, in a long panel breaking the upper border. Under this the list of hundreds, with a small star-compass to the right. Bottom right-hand corner the "Explanation," and on the left the scale.

The border is formed by a thick line between two fine ones, with a double inner line marked off into degrees and minutes of longitude and latitude. In the border, at the bottom: "W. of Greenwich." Outside the border, top right-hand corner: "15". There is no engraver's name.

27.* A REPRINT OF W. LEWIS'S MAP OF 1819.

In LEWIS'S NEW TRAVELLER'S GUIDE & PANORAMA OF ENGLAND & WALES . . . LONDON, 1835. 12mo.

The preface still bears the date Oct. 16, 1819.

Mr. R. P. L. Booker, of Eton College, possesses a copy of this edition of the Guide. The *New Traveller's Guide* is described in CATALOGUE, p. 106.

1836.

28.* A FURTHER REPRINT OF W. LEWIS'S MAP OF 1819.

In LEWIS'S NEW TRAVELLER'S GUIDE & PANORAMA OF ENGLAND & WALES . . . LONDON, 1836. 12mo.

The preface is still dated Oct. 16, 1819. Noted by Sir H. G. Fordham in the Supplement to his *Hertfordshire Maps*.

1837.

29.* A REPRINT OF WALKER'S MAP OF 1835.

In BRITISH ATLAS, COMPRISING SEPARATE MAPS OF EVERY COUNTY IN ENGLAND . . . BY J. & C. WALKER. PUBLISHED MARCH 1, 1837. fol.

Copy now in Cambridge University Library. The first issue is described in CATALOGUE, pp. 129–130.

1839.

30. GLOUCESTERSHIRE. SCALE. 10 MILES [= 2⅝ inches]. WILLIAM ROBSON & CO. DIRECTORY OFFICE, LONDON. 13¾ × 17½ in.

In [ROBSON'S DIRECTORY FOR GLOUCESTERSHIRE].

The title-page of the copy in the Gloucester Public Library is wanting. The directory contains nine counties: Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Gloucestershire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Oxfordshire, Suffolk, and Wiltshire. Each has a map and is paged separately.

A clear map, showing towns (with distances from London), villages, principal places of county elections in the two divisions, boroughs returning members, polling

places, churches, chapels, turnpike and other roads, canals, rivers, parks and gentlemen's seats, and places returning members to the unreformed parliament. The parochial unions are shown by red boundary lines.

Top left-hand corner, the title. Below, a star compass. Bottom right-hand corner, the "Explanation." On the left, "Index of Reference to Parochial Unions," and on the right, "Reference to the Hundreds."

The border is formed by a thick line between two fine ones, and a double inner line marked off into degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude. Between the border lines at the bottom, "Longitude West from Greenwich." Below the border, the imprint.

The date given is ascertained from page 36 of the Directory for Gloucestershire, where "The present year, 1839" occurs, and the completion of the Great Western Railway to Gloucester is "expected to be completed . . . in 1840."

1841.

31. ANOTHER EDITION OF J. & C. WALKER'S MAP OF 1835.

From the same plate but with additions. The map is enlarged to include Worcester on the north and Farringdon on the south-east. Portions of Wiltshire, bounded by Swindon, Wootton Bassett and Corsham, are added. The area bounded on the south-west by Keynsham, Whitchurch and Dunbury is included. Railways are added. These, the county seats, and main roads are shown in colour. The date in the imprint is altered to 1841.

Probably the map referred to in the CATALOGUE (p. 137) under date 1841, the first issue of which is described pp. 129–130.

The copy in the Gloucester Public Library has a cloth cover, with a label entitled :—

> New Map of Gloucester (*sic*) shewing the Roads, Railways, Canals, Parks, Boundaries of Boroughs, etc. Compiled from the latest Survey. G. F. Cruchley, Map-Seller and Publisher, 81, Fleet Street.

1842.

32.* A REPRINT OF HALL'S MAP OF 1830.

In A TRAVELLING COUNTY ATLAS: WITH ALL THE CANALS & RAIL ROADS ACCURATELY LAID DOWN . . . & CAREFULLY CORRECTED TO THE PRESENT TIME. LONDON, 1842. 8vo.

Sir H. G. Fordham now possesses a copy of this edition. Hall's map of 1830 is described in the CATALOGUE, pp. 121–122.

1842.

33. A REPRINT OF J. & C. WALKER'S MAP OF 1835, AS RE-ISSUED IN 1841.

The date in the imprint is altered to 1842. The railroad from Moreton to Stratford, which is not coloured in the issue of 1841, is now coloured.

1844.

34. A FURTHER REPRINT OF THE MAP ENGRAVED BY PIGOT & SON, 1830, AND ISSUED IN PIGOT & CO.'S BRITISH ATLAS, 1844.

In PIGOT AND CO.'S ROYAL NATIONAL AND COMMERCIAL DIRECTORY . . . JUNE 1844. 8vo.

Various issues of this map are described in the CATALOGUE, pp. 119, 133, 135, 138, and 140.

1846.

35. A REPRINT OF J. & C. WALKER'S MAP OF 1842. (See *ante*, No. 33.)

The Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton Railway, with branch from Aston Subedge to Stratford-on-Avon; a branch from Bristol to New Passage; and the South Wales line with proposed branches to Ross, from the Midland Railway at Standish, through Framilode and across the Severn to Blakeney, are shown, and the number of the inhabitants is revised.

1858.

36. GLOUCESTERSHIRE. SCALE OF MILES, 10 [= 1 inch]. COMPILED BY U. J. DAVIS. PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN HEYWOOD, 170, DEANSGATE, MANCHESTER. 6 × 7¾ in.

In THE GEOGRAPHY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE; BY U. J. DAVIS, MASTER OF THE UPTON ST. LEONARD'S NATIONAL

SCHOOL. GLOUCESTER: PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY E. NEST, WESTGATE STREET. 1858. 12mo.

This map had not been seen by Mr. Chubb, though he gives (CATALOGUE, p. 153) a reference from *The Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*, and an issue of it published in 1868 is described on p. 163.

Title, in hatched panel, top left-hand corner. On right, a small star compass indicator. In bottom left-hand corner, compiler's name. In the right, the scale. Imprint, below the border.

This map was used for *The Gloucester and Bristol Diocesan Calendar*, 1859 (CATALOGUE p. 153), though the compiler's name was omitted.

A reprint of *The Geography*, with map, was issued in 1867.

1859.

37. A REPRINT OF THE MAP ISSUED IN SLATER'S ROYAL NATIONAL AND COMMERCIAL DIRECTORY, 1850.

In SLATER'S (LATE PIGOT & CO.) ROYAL NATIONAL AND COMMERCIAL DIRECTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF THE COUNTIES OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE . . . PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY ISAAC SLATER, 36, PORTLAND STREET, MANCHESTER, AND 58, FLEET STREET, LONDON . . . 1858–9.

Below the border, in the right-hand bottom corner: "Engraved on steel by I. Slater, Manchester."

1872.

38. ANOTHER EDITION OF J. & C. WALKER'S MAP OF 1846.

Though the number of inhabitants given under the title is that of the census of 1861, the map may be dated approximately as 1872. The branch railway line from Yate to Thornbury, which is shown, was not constructed in 1870, but the station at Thornbury is mentioned in Murray's Guide to Gloucestershire of 1872. A copy is in Mr. J. E. Pritchard's collection.

1873.

39.* A REPRINT OF THE MAP ENGRAVED BY S. HALL, 1830.

In A TRAVELLING ATLAS OF THE ENGLISH COUNTIES WITH ALL THE RAILROADS ACCURATELY LAID DOWN, AND THE BOUNDARIES COLOURED. LONDON: CHAPMAN AND HALL, 193, PICCADILLY [1873]. 8vo.

Additional railways are shown from Lydney to Coleford, a little south of Botlow, through the Forest of Dean, to about two miles east of Coleford; Newnham to the neighbourhood of Bicknor; Bristol to Kingsweston; Yate to Thornbury; Mangotsfield to Bath; Coaley to Dursley; Stonehouse to Nailsworth; Fairford to Lechlade; Rissington to Bourton-on-the-Water; and Honeybourne to Stratford-on-Avon. The line from Moreton-in-the-Marsh to Stratford-on-Avon is erased. "No. 14" is placed outside the border, in bottom right-hand corner.

1874.

40. ANOTHER EDITION OF THE MAP ENGRAVED BY W. & A. K. JOHNSTON, 1866.

In the copy of *A Handbook for Travellers in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire.* New Edition. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1872, (described in CATALOGUE, p. 165) in the Gloucester Public Library, the date on the map is corrected to 1874. The "Handbook Advertiser" in this copy is also dated 1874.

41. A REPRINT OF GEORGE PHILIPS' & SON'S MAP OF 1872.

In MERCER & CROCKER'S GENERAL TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DIRECTORY FOR GLOUCESTERSHIRE . . . LEICESTER: MERCER & CROCKER, 1874. 8vo.

The issue of 1872 is described in CATALOGUE, p. 165.

1875.

42. GLOUCESTERSHIRE. ENGLISH MILES, 10 [$=1\frac{5}{16}$ inches].

In Collins's COUNTY GEOGRAPHIES . . . (*See* CATALOGUE p. 168.) The reprint of this map, published in 1877, is described in CATALOGUE, p. 172.

There is nothing to indicate that it was engraved by "Edwd. Weller" as stated on p. 168.

This map was also issued with *Crocker's Gloucester Directory* for 1879–80.

[? 1877.]

43. CRUCHLEY'S COUNTY MAP OF GLOUCESTER SHOWING ALL THE RAILWAYS & NAMES OF STATIONS, ALSO THE VILLAGES, TURNPIKE ROADS, GENTLEMENS SEATS &C. &C. IMPROVED FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEYS. LONDON: PUBLISHED BY GALL & INGLIS, 25, PATERNOSTER SQUARE. EDINBURGH: BERNARD TERRACE.

A reprint of Cruchley's map of 1855 (CATALOGUE, p. 150) as re-issued in 1877 (CATALOGUE, p. 170), though the projected line from Tewkesbury to Ross mentioned by Mr. Chubb is not marked. Only the area in the lower part of the map is coloured.

In the Gloucester Public Library is another issue of this map, entitled :—

> Cruchley's Road and Railway Map of the County of Gloucester . . . [as above] also the Turnpike Roads, Villages . . . [as above].

The whole of this map is coloured, including the main roads. It also bears the name of Gall & Inglis as publishers.

1878.

44. GLOUCESTERSHIRE. J. BARTHOLOMEW, EDINB. SCALE OF MILES, 8 [= 2 inches]. PUBLISHED BY A. & C. BLACK, EDINBURGH. $11\frac{7}{16} \times 13\frac{7}{8}$ in.

In BLACK'S GUIDE TO GLOUCESTERSHIRE . . . FOURTH EDITION. 1878. 8vo.

Described in CATALOGUE, p. 174, under date 1881, where the dimensions of the map in the fifth edition of the *Guide* should be given as $11\frac{3}{8} \times 13\frac{13}{16}$ in.

[1879 or 1885.]

45. [A REPRINT OF SPEED'S MAP OF 1610.] $16\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

A reduced facsimile of Speed's map (*see* CATALOGUE,

p. 14), issued by Messrs. Kelly, of High Holborn, with the following imprint below the bottom border :—

> Re-printed and Published by Kelly and Co., and presented to the subscribers to the Post Office Directory of Gloucestershire. Price to Non-Subscribers, One Shilling.

Messrs. Kelly inform me that their reproductions of Speed's maps were published by them "in the early eighties."

I learn from Mr. G. Goode that the Cambridge University Library possesses facsimiles of Speed's maps of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Notts., Rutland, and Lincolnshire. None of these bear a date, but in the preface to the Post Office Directory of the first four of these counties it is stated that "the publishers have reprinted and will present to their subscribers, with each copy, facsimile maps of the counties as originally printed in 1610." The same is stated in the Directory for Lincolnshire of 1876. The dates for these counties is therefore certain, and it seems probable that the facsimiles for Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Shropshire were presented with the Directory for those counties published in 1879. In any case, it would be then or in 1885, though there is no mention in the preface of either. Messrs. Kelly say: "We think they were only referred to in the prospectuses which were issued of the Directories in question."

1885.

46. GLOUCESTERSHIRE. 1885. SCALE OF MILES, 12 [= $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches]. KELLY & CO. POST OFFICE DIRECTORY OFFICES, 51 GREAT QUEEN STREET LONDON W.C. $11\frac{5}{16} \times 16\frac{1}{16}$ in.

In KELLY'S DIRECTORY OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, SHROPSHIRE AND HEREFORDSHIRE. LONDON: 51, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C. 1885. 8vo.

Its description follows that given of the issue of 1889, CATALOGUE, p. 183.

1890.

47.* A REPRODUCTION OF MICHAEL DRAYTON'S MAP OF 1612.

In THE POLY-OLBION: A CHOROGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

OF GREAT BRITAIN. BY MICHAEL DRAYTON. PRINTED FOR THE SPENSER SOCIETY, 1890. fol.

1892.

48. INDEX TO THE SIX INCH SCALE OF THE ORDNANCE SURVEY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE. SCALE [8 MILES] TWO MILES TO ONE INCH. PHOTOZINCOGRAPHED AT THE ORDNANCE SURVEY OFFICE, SOUTHAMPTON, 1892. 26 × 39¼ in.

A coloured map, showing towns, railways, roads, canals, parks, etc., and names and boundaries of the parliamentary divisions according to the Act of 1885.

Top left-hand corner, the title and "Characteristics," and on the right of title, references to small parishes and detached portions of parishes.

Below the map are tables of areas of parishes, giving acreage of land, water, saltmarsh, foreshore, and tidal waters. Above this are the scale and enlarged sketch plans of the Cities of Bristol and Gloucester, with references.

[c. 1897.]

49. SCHOOL MAP OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE & DISTRICT. BY A. J. GRAYSTON, F.R.G.S. SCALE OF MILES, 8 [= 4 1/16 inches]. ENGRAVED & PRINTED BY W. & A. K. JOHNSTON, EDINBURGH & LONDON. W. H. WALTER & CO. THE EDUCATIONAL SUPPLY STORES, 33 BARTON STREET, GLOUCESTER. 27⅜ × 31¾ in.

A very clearly-printed map, coloured, showing physical features, principal towns, railways, and canals. The rivers are coloured blue.

Above the border, the title; below the bottom border, the scale; to the left, the publisher's imprint; and to the right, the engraver's name.

The map is filled in to the borders.

The border is formed by a thick outer line, with an inner double line divided off into degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude.

Walter & Co. are given in Smart's *Gloucester Directory* for 1897.

1904.

50.* A REPRINT OF E. WELLER'S MAP OF 1862 AS REISSUED IN 1885.

In PHILIPS' ATLAS OF THE BRITISH ISLES . . . GEORGE PHILIP & SON LTD., LONDON . . . [1904.]

Practically the same as the 1885 issue (CATALOGUE, p. 177), with the railways shown by a black line instead of a broken line, and the main roads coloured brown. The number "13" is omitted.

1907.

51.* A REPRINT OF WELLER'S MAP OF 1860, AS RE-ISSUED BY BACON IN 1895.

In BACON'S POPULAR ATLAS OF THE BRITISH ISLES . . . EDITED BY G. W. BACON . . . LONDON: G. W. BACON & CO. . . . 1907. 4to.

1908.

52. A REPRINT OF BRENEY'S PHYSICAL MAP OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 1907.

In THE STORY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE. BY JOHN SAWYER . . . SECOND EDITION. 1908. 8vo.

An unaltered impression of the 1907 issue. (CATALOGUE, p. 196.)

[1909.]

53. BACON'S NEW SURVEY MAP OF THE COUNTIES OF GLOUCESTER & WILTS. PRICE 21/-. SHOWING RAILWAYS, ROADS, ELEVATIONS & DISTANCES. ALSO LOCAL GOVERNMENT DIVISIONS & PARISHES. SCALE [6 MILES] 2 MILES TO AN INCH. G. W. BACON & CO., LTD., ROYAL LONDON BUILDINGS, DEANSGATE, MANCHESTER. COPYRIGHT—JOHN BARTHOLOMEW & CO., EDINR. 33¾ × 43¼ ins.

A very clear and well-printed map, coloured to show the Boroughs, Urban Districts and Rural Districts. The main roads are coloured, with the distances from town to town printed in red. The distances by water to Bristol from ports in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and from Jamaica, are printed in red opposite that port. The heights of hills and

of roads are also given. The map is divided into five-mile squares, and is filled in to the borders by portions of surrounding counties.

Top left-hand corner, the title, price, and scale, to the left of which is the "Explanation." Bottom left-hand corner, "Index to Boroughs Urban & Rural Districts" giving the population of each, and its position on the map, which is indicated by the reference letters and numbers of the squares. By the side of this is the "Geological Reference", with notes and colour panels relating to the strata of the district and parts of adjoining counties, which are shown below in an inset "Geological Map of Gloucester and Wilts. Bottom right-hand corner, "Index-Gazetter", printed in three columns, the first being broken in the centre by the map. The populations of the places named are given, with their positions on the map. Above the upper border, printed in red, "Revised according to the latest Ordnance Survey". Under the lower border the imprint.

The border is formed by a thick line between two fine ones, with an inner double line marked off into degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude. Between the two borders are printed the reference letters and numbers of the squares, and also the distances from the points to which the map is carried to the next important town. The border is broken into on the south and east. I am indebted to Mr. J. E. Pritchard for bringing this map to my notice.

Messrs. Bacon inform me that this map was published in February, 1909. In a later re-issue the words "With Populations from 1911 Census" are printed beneath "Index to Boroughs . . ." and the figures corrected accordingly.

1912.

54. GLOUCESTERSHIRE. $3\frac{15}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{16}$ in.

In OXFORD COUNTY HISTORIES GLOUCESTERSHIRE BY W. H. WESTON OXFORD. 1912. 8vo.

An outline map, plain, showing hills, rivers, canals, and principal towns.

Title in lower right-hand corner. The border is formed by a thick black line, with a thin inner one.

55. PICTORIAL MAP OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE [SCALE] 10 MILES [= $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches]. $5\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

In GLOUCESTERSHIRE, ITS CHIEF TOWNS, RESOURCES, AND CHARACTERISTICS . . . BURROW'S COUNTY GUIDES. ED. J. BURROW & CO. LTD., PUBLISHERS, CHELTENHAM. [1912.] 8vo.

Shows principal towns, with chief roads coloured red. Title at top above border, note as to roads and scale at bottom, below border. Sketches of churches, etc., are printed.

56. MAP OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE AND SURROUNDING DISTRICT. SCALE 20 MILES [= $2\frac{3}{16}$ inches]. G. W. BACON & CO. LTD. 127 STRAND, LONDON. $6 \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ in.

In GLOUCESTERSHIRE . . . [AS ABOVE] BURROW'S COUNTY GUIDES [1912].

The boundary of the county is coloured red. Railways, canals and main roads, towns and villages are shown. The surrounding counties are filled in to the border.

Title of the Series of Guides printed above top border. Title, scale, and imprint below bottom border.

The border is formed by a thick and a thin line.

1914.

57. GLOUCESTERSHIRE. SCALE 4 MILES TO AN INCH. JOHN BARTHOLOMEW & CO., EDINR. $12 \times 13\frac{5}{8}$ in.

In GLOUCESTERSHIRE. BY J. CHARLES COX. LONDON [1914]. 8vo.

A well-filled, clearly-printed map, with the first class and secondary roads, and the county boundary, shown in colour.

Title, scale (showing 8 miles = 2 inches), and explanation of marking of roads, etc. in bottom right-hand corner.

On the front end-papers of the book is printed a map of the railways of Gloucestershire, with their lines continued into the surrounding counties.

58.* ANOTHER EDITION OF EMSLIE'S MAP OF 1848 AS RE-ISSUED BY E. STANFORD IN 1904.

In STANFORD'S GEOLOGICAL ATLAS OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND IRELAND . . . BY H. B. WOODWARD . . . THIRD EDITION. LONDON . . . 1914. 8vo.

Same as the 1907 issue. (*See* CATALOGUE, p. 195.)

59. A FURTHER ISSUE OF KELLY'S MAP OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

In KELLY'S DIRECTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF SOMERSET AND GLOUCESTER, 1914. 8vo.

In the plan of Gloucester, the Recreation Ground and the Park are coloured green, and the names of new streets are added.

Earlier issues of the map are described in the CATALOGUE, *passim*.

60. A REPRINT OF GEORGE PHILIP & SON'S PHYSICAL MAP OF GLOUCESTER IN THE CAMBRIDGE COUNTY GEOGRAPHIES, 1909.

In GLOUCESTERSHIRE BY HERBERT A. EVANS . . . SECOND EDITION. CAMBRIDGE: 1914. 8vo.

The first issue of the map is described in CATALOGUE, p. 197, where the author of the work should read *Herbert* A. Evans. The geological map described on p. 197 was also reprinted in the second edition.

1915.

61. GLOUCESTERSHIRE. SCALE [4 feet=$3\frac{7}{16}$ inches]. $3\frac{7}{16} \times 5\frac{9}{16}$ in.

In VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM PORTFOLIOS. TAPESTRIES. PART III. TAPESTRY MAPS. ENGLISH; 16TH AND 17TH CENT. LONDON: HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE. 1915. 4to.

Strictly speaking, this cannot be called a county map, but its peculiar interest may permit its record here.

It is a reduced facsimile of a tapestry map, which is described as of late sixteenth-century design. It seems fairly certain that it once formed part of a tapestry map which included the neighbouring counties of Somerset, Wiltshire, and Monmouth. The piece reproduced shows an area extending from beyond Chepstow on the west to Foxley

(Wilts.) on the east; and from Stroud on the north to Castle Combe (Wilts.) on the south.

The tapestry was made by William Sheldon's tapestry-weavers, and is now the property of Mr. Henry Birkbeck, of Westacre, Norfolk.

An enlarged reproduction of the part of the tapestry showing the district in the neighbourhood of Wormington illustrates the recently-published (for private circulation) *Short Account of Wormington Parish and Church*, compiled by John Humphreys, F.S.A. [Not dated.]

62. GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

A clearly printed circular map, coloured, diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, printed from a plate $3\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$, showing principal towns, and main roads extending into the surrounding counties. There are no railways marked. The border is formed by two lines, the outer line being rather thicker than the inner one.

I have not been able to identify this map, nor has Mr. Chubb. From its appearance its date may be about 1830. It has been suggested to me that this map may have been printed for use as a "watch-map," it being the custom at one time to place small circular maps inside the cases of the rather large watches carried.

NOTES AND CORRIGENDA TO CATALOGUE.

63. (Page 19.) **CAMDEN'S BRITANIA, 1626.**

For *on the east marked off into degrees* read *on the west.* The number "17" printed on the back of the copy of the map described by Mr. Chubb does not appear on the copy in the Gloucester Public Library.

Mr. Chubb writes:—

"In the copies of *The Abridgment of Camden*, 1626, in the British Museum and Gloucester Public Library,

the map of 'Glocestershire' has a capital E written just below the plate mark in the bottom *right*-hand corner immediately below the figure 5.

"The following counties in the *Abridgment* have printed letters, and the remainder have none :—

"Bedford, Brecknock, Carmarthen, Carnarvon, Cheshire, Derby, Durham, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Lancashire, Merioneth, Norfolk, Northumberland, Pembroke, Radnor, and Stafford."

64. (Page 23.) **PETER KEER'S MAP, 1646.**

In the CATALOGUE a coloured reprint of Keer's map of 1627 is mentioned. Mr. J. E. Pritchard has a copy of *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*, and in this all the maps are plain.

65. (Pages 26–29.) **BLAEU'S ATLAS, 1648.**

Mr. Chubb sends me the following interesting note relating to Blaeu's *Atlas Novus*. He says :—

"The first edition of Blaeu's *Atlas Novus* was issued in 1635. We [the British Museum] now have the French edition of this issue. It bears the title : 'Le Theatre du Monde ou Nouvel Atlas contenant les Chartes et descriptions de tous les Païs de la terre Mis en lumiere Par Guillaume et Jean Blaeu. Amsterdami, Apud Guiljelmum et Johannem Blaeu. Anno 1635.' This is in two vols. It was also published, I believe, in Latin and Dutch. We have also recently acquired a Latin edition of the work in five volumes published 1648–1655. ; volume IV., containing the English County Maps, is dated 1648, but the preface is dated September, 1645. I have no doubt that volume IV. was first issued in that year (1645), as there is evidence of the date on the title-page having been altered from 1645 to 1648. The earliest copy I have seen before this was the Dutch edition dated 1648, and the preface dated 1647, and no doubt this is the first Dutch edition."

66. (Pages 40–41.) **PHILIP LEA'S REPRINT (1690) OF CHRISTOPHER SAXTON'S MAP OF 1577.**

Mr. J. E. Pritchard sends me the following note in reference to Lea's reprint of Saxton's map :—

"I have two early impressions without imprint. One black, the other with the hundreds bordered in colour. Both have arms of Charles II., and C.R. above. I have seen several other later reprints, all having C.R. above arms. Some other counties have W.R. Some of these reprints have the following lettering, on the left side, between the plan of the 'City of Brestoll' and the Cartouche :—

> "'Sold by Geo. Willdey at the Great Toy, Spectacle, China Ware and Print Shop. Ye Corner of Ludgate Street, Near St. Pauls, London.'

"This George Willdey was in partnership with a certain T. Brandreth, 1710–11. In or about 1712 he began to publish in his own name alone. About 1720 his imprints ran as above. He did not issue a complete Atlas of England; but he published a *Map of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1715, and his name as bookseller appears on *The Grand Roads of England* [1712], *A New and Correct Map of Thirty miles round London* [1720], *Yorkshire*. . . . by Ch. Saxton with additions by P. Lea [1720]. Willdey also issued a general *Atlas of the World*, the dates of the maps being 1715–1730."

67. (Page 47.) **RE-ISSUES OF RICHARD BLOME'S MAP, 1715 AND 1720.**

Mr. F. A. Hyett has a copy of this map with the imprint altered to "London printed & Sold by Tho. Bakewell Next ye Horn Tavern in Fleet Street." It is not dated. Mr. Chubb suggests 1730 for its approximate issue.

68. (Pages 50–51.) **HERMAN MOLL'S MAP, 1724.**

For *Gloucester Shire* read *Glocester Shire*. A copy of this map in the Gloucester Public Library has the number "16" printed in the top left-hand corner, though in all other respects it corresponds to the first issue and the reprint described in the CATALOGUE. Mr. Chubb suggests that it is from a later edition of Moll's *Atlas*, or from some other work.

69. (Page 59.) **GEORGE BICKHAM'S MAP, 1751.**

For *Gloucester Shire* read *Glocester Shire*. The size should be given as $5\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{15}{16}$ inches.

70. (Page 62, lines 8–9.)

For *William Phelps* read *A. W. Clifford.*

71. (Pages 74–75.) **ISAAC TAYLOR'S MAP, 1777.**

Some valuable biographical notes relating to Isaac Taylor were contributed to *Notes and Queries* of June 26th, 1915 (Ser. 11, vol. xi., pp. 495–496), by Mr. John E. Pritchard, F.S.A., in which he clearly shows that Isaac Taylor of *Worcester*, whose work as engraver was quite different from that of map-making, has been confused with Isaac Taylor of *Ross*, who produced the fine map of Gloucestershire dated 1777, and other county maps, all of which are dated from Ross. Mr. Pritchard states that the former, who was born in 1730, left Worcester for London about the same time that Isaac Taylor of Ross was engaged on his surveys of Herefordshire (published 1754) and of Hampshire (published 1759). In the Register of St. Mary's Church, Ross, Taylor is described as *Geographer*, and the entry of his burial, June 17th, 1788, proves conclusively that he died many years before Isaac Taylor of Worcester, who retired soon after 1780 to Edmonton, where he died October 17th, 1807 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, lv, 415). The Rev. C. S. Taylor also wrote on Isaac Taylor in *Notes and Queries*, Series 11, vol. ix., pp. 264-265.

72. (Page 87.) **ALEXANDER HOGG'S MAP, 1794.**

The line "Engraved for Walpoole's New and Complete British Traveller" is not printed on the map in the copy of the *New and Complete British Traveller* in the Gloucester Public Library; but in the bottom right-hand corner is printed "T. Conder, Sculpt."

Mr. Chubb (CATALOGUE, p. 76) dates the first edition of *The New British Traveller* as [1784], and it is also shown in *The Manual of Gloucestershire Literature* as undated; but the copy in the Gloucester Public Library has this date printed on the title.

73. (Page 97.) **COOKE'S MAP, 1806.**

The map in the *Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Gloucester* by George Alexander Cooke was also issued uncoloured. A note below the border states that—

> "The Cities and County Towns are denoted by red, and the respective Hundreds of the County by Different Colours which distinctions are peculiar to the Superior Edition."

There were various editions of this work, and one was issued probably in 1820, a copy in Gloucester Public Library being bound with the volume for Somerset which has that date printed on the title, though the title-page of the Gloucestershire volume is not dated.

74. (Page 101.) **RUDGE'S GENERAL VIEW, 1813.**

The map in the 1813 edition of *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Gloucester. . .* By Thomas Rudge, is an exact reprint of the first edition, 1807.

75. (Page 104 line 1.) **THOMAS DIX'S MAP, 1816.**

For *Gloucestershire* read *Glocestershire*. The dimension given as $13\frac{3}{8}$ should be $13\frac{7}{8}$.

76. (Page 104.) **EDWARD LANGLEY'S MAP, 1817.**

For *Gloucestershire* read *Glocestershire*. The copies in Gloucester Public Library are dated "Aug. 1st, 1817."

77. (Page 126.) **J. GARDNER'S MAP, 1832.**

Some of the copies of the maps issued in *Plans of the Cities and Boroughs of England and Wales* were printed without the engraver's name.

78. (Page 145.) **R. CREIGHTON'S MAP, 1849.**

In the copy of the seventh edition of Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of England* the four volumes, and the volume of maps, are all dated 1848.

79. (Page 147.) **GEOLOGICAL MAP, 1850.**

For "Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England," *Vol. II.* read *Vol. XI.*

80. (Page 153.) **HEYWOOD'S MAP, 1859.**

The imprint given in the CATALOGUE, p. 153, should read: "Printed & Published by *John* Heywood . . ."

The map in *The Gloucester and Bristol Diocesan Calendar* is a reprint of the one compiled by U. J. Davis for his *Geography of Gloucestershire*, 1858, described *ante*, No. 36.

In the *Calendar* for 1860 the title was enlarged, and reads: "Together with the part of Wilts in the Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol," though this was omitted in succeeding issues. In 1864 the words "Compiled by U. J. Davis" are printed in the bottom left-hand corner.

81. (Page 189.) **KELLY'S MAP, 1897.**

For "152 to 154 High Holborn" *read* 182 to 184.

82. (Page 192.) **KELLY'S MAP, 1902.**

Closer examination of this map with the one issued in 1897 shows that various alterations were made. Some of the towns in Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and Wiltshire shown on the 1897 map are omitted, new streets are added to the plan of Gloucester, and there are other minor differences.

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In Memoriam.

CANON H. N. ELLACOMBE.

The Rev. H. N. Ellacombe, Canon non-Residentiary of Bristol, was Vicar of Bitton for the long period of 66 years, having succeeded his father, famed as Antiquary, Campanologist, and Gardener, in 1850. Though he contributed nothing to our *Proceedings*, he was a valued member of our Council for many years. Those who were privileged to know Canon Ellacombe will remember him as a delightful companion and host both in his house and garden, which was known far and wide as containing an extraordinary collection of rare plants and shrubs, cultivated with a skill and perseverance that only a love for them could have nourished. He was the author of that charming book, *In a Gloucestershire Garden*, published in 1895, and of the better-known *Plant Lore and Garden Craft of Shakespeare*, the third edition of which was published in 1896.

MICHAEL GRANVILLE LLOYD-BAKER.

In 1907, on the resignation of Canon Bazeley as Hon. General Secretary of this Society, Mr. Michael G. Lloyd-Baker was asked to succeed him. He soon won the hearts of the members who attended our meetings by his unfailing courtesy, good temper and alertness. During his tenure of office, from 1907 to 1910, he arranged four Spring and Summer Meetings. Of these the meeting which perhaps will be remembered with greatest pleasure was held at Cardiff, Glamorganshire being full of places of interest which were previously unknown to many of us. Mr. Michael Lloyd-Baker's official work as a Magistrate, County Councillor, etc., and Treasurer or Secretary of many useful institutions or societies, has been told elsewhere.

In 1895 he joined the Gloucestershire Yeomanry as a trooper, and received a commission in the following year. He excelled as Master of the Horse and Quartermaster. In 1915 his squadron was selected for foreign service, and was sent under his command to fight on foot in the Dardanelles. Later he proceeded to Egypt. On Easter Day, April 23rd, 1916, his squadron was attacked at Katia, in the Sinaitic desert, by an overwhelming force of Turks, and only very few of the officers and men escaped death. For five months we hoped against hope that he was a prisoner and unwounded. Then we were compelled, by the evidence of a medical officer who had been captured on the same day, to believe that he fell in action.

Captain Michael Lloyd-Baker was the son of Mr. Granville E. Lloyd-Baker, and grandson of Mr. Barwick Baker of Hardwicke Court. We had fully hoped that his life would be spared to carry on the excellent work which in England falls to the lot of a country squire; but like thousands of others, whose memories we shall always treasure, he gave his life for his king and country, and died, as he had lived, a gallant soldier and a true Christian gentleman.

W. B.

Notices of Publications.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHER'S MANUAL OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE LITERATURE, being a classified catalogue of biographical and genealogical literature relating to men and women connected by birth, office, or many years' residence with the county of Gloucester or the city of Bristol, with descriptive and explanatory notes. By FRANCIS ADAMS HYETT, B.A., and ROLAND AUSTIN, Librarian of the Public Library, Gloucester. Gloucester: printed for the subscribers by John Bellows. 1915–1916. Two volumes, pp. xlviii., 639.

An appreciative criticism of this work which appeared shortly after its publication speaks of it as "one of the best examples of its kind," and one that bibliographers should certainly note. Bibliographers do not form a large section of the community, but we need hardly press the local interest attaching to these volumes upon the members of our Society, to all of whom it must be a matter of gratification that the bibliography of the printed material relating to the county has been advanced a further stage.

The *Biographical Supplement* is the realisation of a hope expressed twenty years ago by the joint authors—Mr F. A. Hyett and Canon Bazeley—of *The Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*, the publication of which placed all students and others interested in our county under a lasting debt of gratitude to the compilers for the thoroughness and accuracy with which it was carried out. *The Manual* ranks very high among similar works, and it would be difficult to suggest any improvement in the arrangement which was adopted.

The original plan of the authors of *The Manual* was to include biographical matter relating to persons who had some well-established connection with Gloucestershire, but finding this would increase its volume inordinately, their intention had to be abandoned for the time. Happily it has now been accomplished, and it must be a real pleasure to Mr. Hyett to know that he has been able throughout all these years to take so active a part in carrying out a piece of work at which the most enthusiastic bibliographer may well have shrunk. As explained in the prefatory note to Part I., the biographical notes originally prepared for *The Manual* by Canon Bazeley have been incorporated by his permission, though unfortunately Canon Bazeley himself has been unable to take an active part in the completion of the Supplement.

Mr. Hyett, who has many calls upon his time, was making but slow progress with the Supplement until he had the good fortune to enlist the co-operation of Mr. Roland Austin, Librarian of the Gloucester Public Library, and one of our Local Secretaries, without whose valuable aid, Mr. Hyett assures us, it is improbable that the work would ever have been completed.

The bibliography of the biographical literature of any county necessarily requires different treatment from that applied to matter relating to its topography, which is confined to rigid limits by reason of geographical boundaries. Opinions as to this treatment may differ in detail, but in principle the rules laid down for *The Biographical Supplement* seem to form a good basis for deciding who should be included, and no one has been left out who has substantial claims to connection with the county.

The Introduction, written by Hr. Hyett, gives a concise and interesting sketch of the part which Gloucestershire men and women have taken in affairs of State, in the Army and Navy, in the Church, the Legal world, and in Parliament; as administrators of county government, in which a high standard has always been maintained; and in the military, naval, and social history of the country. Among them are many names of note, too many indeed for detailed mention in the space at our disposal. Those of Sir Matthew Hale, Sir John Fortescue, Lord Raglan, Sir Robert Atkyns, T. Barwick Baker, Sir John Dorington, Tyndale, Miles Smith, Philip Bisse, Robert Raikes, Southey, Samuel and Daniel Lysons, George Müller, Jenner, W. G. Grace, George Whitefield, T. Gambier Parry, Cabot, Earl St. Aldwyn, J. A. Symonds, and Sir Charles Wheatstone are a few only, which will give some idea of the variety of the professions and walks of life which are represented. Even pugilism and racing have their exponents, the former by sixteen names, nearly all connected with Bristol, and the latter by Fred Archer, the foremost jockey of his day.

Alphabetically arranged, each name is followed by a headnote giving profession or occupation, date of birth and death, office held, and other information which it would often be difficult to obtain from any other source. The headnote is succeeded by the full titles of the biographical matter, and, in the case of those whose writings are not given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* or elsewhere a list of their works is added, Even reviews of works have not been overlooked, and the thoroughness with which these have been searched for is well shown under the name of Robert Southey.

Articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* concerning those connected with the county who came within the rules laid down are included. Biographical and obituary notices in periodicals are very

numerous, and much valuable matter, notably in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *Notes and Queries*, has now become easy of access. No likely source of material seems to have been overlooked. The British Museum and the Bodleian Libraries and private and public collections in the county have been used, with a result which is astonishing and can leave little to be added hereafter.

Early printed books, whether biographical or written by those included in the work, have been collated. Good examples of these are Northbrooke's *Spiritus est vicarius Christi in Terra* (1571–1579) and Dennys' interesting *Secrets of Angling* (1613).

A cursory glance only reveals the enormous amount of information which can be gleaned from these volumes concerning the lives of those connected with Gloucestershire who have played their part in national affairs, as well as of many who have contributed in no small measure to the welfare of the county.

In addition to the Author-index there is an interesting and valuable table of localities which makes it easy to see at once the names of those included in the work who are connected with any particular town or village. Under the heading of Bristol, we estimate that there are the names of at least four hundred families and individuals connected with that city, probably about one-fourth of the total number of names noticed.

Two editions have been published, one of 75 copies on large paper and one of 110 copies on small, both in similar format to *The Manual*. The large paper edition is illustrated with 22 portraits and facsimiles of the titles of Dennys' *Secrets of Angling* and of Turton's *Conchological Dictionary*. Upon the second of these is printed a vase formed by the outline of the author's profile looking in opposite directions, the only likeness of him extant.

We hope the gratitude which will be felt by those who use this work for bibliographical and other research will compensate Mr. Hyett and Mr. Austin for their labours, which must have been immense, and unless considered by them a matter of the profoundest interest could not have been carried out in the thorough way which is evident on every page.

It is well known to those who have laboured in the field of bibliography that pecuniary reward can hardly be looked for, and it would seem one of the legitimate objects of archæological societies to promote its development. This particular undertaking has been carried out privately, but just as our Society issued the "Catalogue of Printed Maps of Gloucestershire," prepared by Mr. Chubb, so it may be hoped that when an opportunity occurs attention will be given to printing a topographical supplement to *The Manual*, for since its completion in 1897 much relating to the county has been published. We understand that

a considerable amount of material for this is already prepared, and that it includes a fair proportion relating to local books and pamphlets printed before 1895–1897 which escaped notice at the time.

FOTHERGILL LECTURES ON HISTORIC BUILDINGS IN THE WESTERN WAR ZONE: THEIR BEAUTY AND THEIR RUIN. By Rev. G. HERBERT WEST, D.D., A.R.I.B.A. Delivered before the Royal Society of Arts on February 7th, 14th, and 21st, 1916. London: Wm. Clowes & Sons Ltd. 1916.

These three lectures deal with the architectural glories of the cities of Belgium and Northern France and with French medieval sculpture. The historic causes for the rise of cities in Belgium, essentially a marchland no less than a marsh-land, are discussed, and the rise of churches and public buildings as an expression of communal life is well brought out. The distinctive characters of French and English Gothic are insisted on, and their causes and development traced and contrasted. The statuary that adorns the great French churches is described with enthusiasm which must win the reader's sympathy, even though it may not always command his assent. As originally delivered, the lectures were illustrated with lantern slides. These must have added greatly to their interest. But even without them in the form in which they have been printed, a reader who is at all acquainted with the masterpieces of medieval art will be able to follow the author in most of his descriptions, and to appreciate the points he makes. If ever, and as soon as, we can again visit the wasted lands and desolate shrines within the zone of this horrible war, these lectures will form a valuable companion, and will enable us more than ever to realise the beauty and grandeur that found its expression in the stone of the cities and towns now lying waste or in the hands of the inhuman foe. Even for readers who may never have this opportunity, if they share the enthusiasm which Gothic architecture, perhaps above all forms of architecture that man has employed, deserves, Dr. West's labour and his well-known learning will not have been expended in vain.

THE RISE, PROGRESS AND MILITARY IMPROVEMENT OF THE BRISTOL VOLUNTEERS; WITH AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE OFFICERS AND PRIVATES, correctly arranged by JAMES BROWN, Serg. of the 10th Comp. Bristol: W. Matthews, 1798. Reprinted by the Bristol Times and Mirror Limited. 1916.

It was an excellent thought to reprint just now this very modest little book, which gives an account of the inception of the Bristol Volunteers in the stress of the French wars at the close of the eighteenth

century. The resolutions passed at the meeting, held at the Guildhall on the 18th Feb., 1797, to form the Military Volunteer Association, are set forth in full. The list of the first Committee follows, together with the Rules and Regulations, in which breaches of the disciplinary regulations are punished by various fines, inasmuch as the penalties of military law were inapplicable to a civilian force not embodied in the army, though acting within certain limits as a military body. The Volunteers were intended as a purely local defensive force. This is impressed on the reader of the present day by one of the stipulations in sharp contrast with the conditions of modern warfare: "That on no occasion, and in no exigency whatever, the whole or any detachment of the corps are to be removed above one day's moderate march from Bristol."

The story is continued in the quaint and formal language of the time down to the presentation of colours to the regiment on Durdham Down, on the 9th June following its formation—a ceremony which was brought to a close by "an elegant and pathetic address" by the Mayor's Chaplain, "concluding with a suitable prayer," both of which are reproduced at length.

The list of names includes the occupations and addresses of the Volunteers. In it will be found a number of names of men who were honoured citizens in their day, who took a leading part in the affairs of the city, and some of whose descendants still occupy positions of influence, as well as of those who in a humbler way lived their lives and did their duty to their country, and whose sole memorial is probably the single line allotted to them here. One and all, they deserve to be remembered as the pioneers of that greater body from the city who have volunteered in the present emergency, and many of whom have already laid down their lives in defence of their country.

THE MANUFACTURE OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL: AN ELEMENTARY STUDY IN THE SOURCES OF STORY. By J. W. JEUDWINE, LL.B. Camb. London: Williams and Norgate. 1916. 6s. net.

PROLEGOMENA TO HISTORY: THE RELATION OF HISTORY TO LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND SCIENCE. By FREDERICK J. TEGGART, Associate Professor of History and Curator of the Bancroft Library in the University of California. University of California Publications in History, vol. iv., No. 3. Berkeley (California), University of California Press. 1916.

These two volumes, unpretentious in size and appearance, are signal contributions to the study of History, that no serious student can afford to overlook.

Some five years ago the author of the volume first named above published a work on *The First Twelve Centuries of British History*. It was written from a point of view to which historians of the various parts of the United Kingdom were unaccustomed. The principle upon which it proceeded was that hitherto historians had taken too narrow a view of their field and their functions; they had written the history of England or Scotland, of Wales or Ireland, as if the part of these islands of which they wrote could be treated separately from the rest, without regard to the events which were happening there, and even more disastrously without regard to the political, social and economic forces which from time to time drove the nations beyond the seas to intervene in British affairs. This principle, worked out with much learning and judgement, revealed Mr. Jeudwine as an historical thinker of high order, having a comprehensive vision, a clear and definite grasp of causes and an insight into the real character and relations of the events whose succession we term history.

In the little work now before us he expounds his theory of historical evidence, and does so with the freshness and authority which his former book gave abundant evidence of. It deals with the sources of the early history of the British islands, though its contentions are often illustrated by reference to other countries, to which indeed they are equally applicable. Pointing out that the written records we possess are frequently late copies of copies of copies of the original, probably much altered in the process, as we know in many cases was the fact, he insists that behind the record lies an oral tradition. "All story, ancient, mediæval or modern, rests in the first instance on oral tradition." In dealing with early monastic records, written in many cases a long time after, by men sedentary and aloof from the action recorded, we are inclined to forget this undoubted fact, and in consequence to attribute far too great an authority to the writing. "We are in this respect at the present in a position very little removed from that of the recorders of events in times past. Every story, whether it is an account of rumours current of action on a long battle line, collected by Eye-witness or other special correspondent at the Front from the men who saw and took part in the struggle, or from other men who saw other men who saw it, or the provisions of a treaty the final result of many verbal conferences liable to be upset by secret unwritten agreements, or the suggestion passed into law after long debate in Parliament, has in almost every instance a verbal origin." This verbal origin, which may not have been reduced into writing for a very long time afterwards, is the real evidence for the events recorded. It is that which we must criticise through the medium of the written statement; it is that on which we must ultimately rely.

To the consideration of this oral evidence accordingly the author addresses himself. He speaks of "the extraordinary powers of the trained memory to hand down *through many generations with very great accuracy* accounts of events long past, or pedigrees showing the descent of eminent persons or declarations of customs made long ago." The italics are mine. There is no doubt that the powers of a trained memory are great, even among ourselves in a society in which the powers of memory have been weakened by our habit of committing to black and white anything which must be recalled accurately. In a society, illiterate as all early societies are, everybody possesses more or less good powers of memory. If it be a man's business to remember, or if it be to his interest to remember, as when his title to any rights or privileges is in question, his memory is usually fairly accurate. As Mr. Jeudwine points out, all ancient society was based upon kinship; and a man's title to the privileges common to the community depended upon his pedigree. Hence, pedigrees in particular—a man's own and those of his neighbours—were guarded with special jealousy in his memory: indeed, they are so still in Wales and doubtless in Scotland and Ireland. Together with the pedigree, stories of the departed ancestors would also be treasured and repeated from time to time, and thus handed down from generation to generation. In course of time arose a privileged caste or class, who were poets, lawyers and historians, whose special duty it was to remember and retail the songs, the laws and the stories and pedigrees of the tribe, and who acquired "an immense mysterious authority drawn from the use of technical and often unintelligible language," the language of earlier days in which the laws were preserved and the songs fashioned.

But it is very easy to exaggerate the historical value to be attributed to the matters thus preserved. After all, the most retentive memory is liable to fail; and when these things are handed down through a chain of oral depositaries of tradition they are insensibly deflected and altered by each successive generation. An examination of the traditions of the Negroes and Bantu of Africa shows that, although among many of the tribes special precautions are taken to preserve them, they are quite untrustworthy. Even the pedigrees of the kings cannot be relied on; and the most arresting events cease to be remembered after the lapse of a few generations. Such as are remembered are not remembered accurately and in their proper setting, while the lesser events and such as are not held to redound to the glory of the tribe are forgotten altogether. What is true of the Negroes and Bantu is true of other races; they are equally human and liable to human failings. Nor is it easy to distinguish between things remembered and things invented—invented possibly in good faith and unconsciously, developed out of

hints and allusions misunderstood—things which it is held must have been because they ought to have been. Mr. Jeudwine himself refers to one such case, though not in this connection. He gives "as a single example of the history contained in oral pedigree in these islands: at the coronation of the child Alexander III., as he sat on the stone of Scone brought from Egypt by Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, a Scoto-Irish scald from the West came forward and falling on his knees before the boy recited, no doubt in rhythmic verse, the pedigree of the young king from his remotest ancestors, possibly to [from ?] Scota herself. It was a small matter that, as the king's pedigree peered back into antiquity, gods and heroes and ordinary men show beside each other; its very portentous length gave it greater power, and it was, in spite of the monastic advances in south-eastern Scotland, the King's title to his throne in the greater part of his dominions."

As an example of history in our sense of the words—as a record of events and of their causes and consequences — the pedigree, except perhaps the last two or three steps, was in truth valueless. As an example of what people believed, and therefore of what influenced their actions, it is important. We are ignorant of its exact contents, beyond what we may infer from the romances of Hector Boetius and other writers, Scottish and Irish. A cursory examination of these renders it certain that they consist of oral tradition adulterated with the speculations of Christian writers, who endeavoured to reconcile the wild Scoto-Irish claims with the literary tradition derived ultimately from the Bible and from classical antiquity. What the residuum of fact (if any) may be upon which they are based is another question. It is probably in any case small; and the pedigree, so far as we can infer it, is absolutely valueless beyond the last few steps. This is of course mere commonplace; but it is necessary to bear it in mind with regard to the pedigree, not only of Alexander III. but to all similar genealogies, taken as examples of history. They are no more than a combination of imagination, brag and memory, in which the imagination andbrag vastly preponderate.

Mr. Jeudwine of course is aware of all this, and careful critic as he is, would be the last to deny it. He is no doubt merely putting his case strongly against the monastic historians, on whose writings modern, as well as the elder, writers have relied far too confidingly. He proceeds with a luminous account of the poet-lawyer-historian as the depositary of tradition in the British Islands and Scandinavia. The chief historical value of what this functionary has left us lies in the customs and laws that he records. Much space is accordingly devoted to the records of the poet-lawyer-historian, and particularly of the Brehon. "I desire," says the author, "to impress on readers how great a part this plays in

the formation of the records of history. The written monastic records of England, on which historians so much rely for their facts, give us an absolutely false perspective of history, leading to unsound conclusions and to neglect of contemporary economic causes, written as they are from gossip unsupported by evidence even of facts and far less of motives or intentions, and written from the sole point of view of a body of men living outside the social system which they helped to destroy, unless we can correct them by means of what we can learn of that system from other sources."

This greatly needed to be said, and it is excellently said. On a later page the monastic historians are dealt with faithfully and more at large. In the meantime the legal reports known as the *Year Books* are discussed, and their value for social, economic and political history is shown. The difficulty of using medieval manuscripts arises very largely from the fact that we have hardly any of the originals of at all events the earlier period. The various writers of chronicles copied from one another, and in copying altered, enlarged, interpolated, and hence falsified with more or less intention. The scribes to whom we owe the charters and deeds did the same. Every monastic charter must be looked upon with suspicion and tested in every possible way. Scarcely ever is the original forthcoming. Often charters are wholly forged. When that is not so, the original has been destroyed by fire, damp, or some accident due to the unsettled state of the country. The monks coming to repair their losses made new documents, which probably did not accurately follow the originals—it was almost impossible that they could in the circumstances—but contained not necessarily what the old charters contained but what the monks thought in their own interest they ought to have contained. Sometimes the monastic scribes acted in good faith; more often the scramble for property and privileges led to bare-faced fraud—in those days difficult if not impossible to detect. The end sanctified the means. The extant manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon laws are hardly ever earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century; the earliest manuscripts of the Welsh laws are from the twelfth century. The laws everywhere have been altered to conform to the Mosaic code, and sometimes considerable portions of that code have been introduced bodily into them. Even if these alterations were made by the original promulgators the old customs are to that extent falsified.

Every source of history therefore requires to be minutely scrutinised. Each witness must be cross-examined to ascertain his meaning; he must be confronted with other witnesses, and the evidence must be impartially, even suspiciously, weighed. No kind of evidence must be excluded, from whatever direction; but no kind may be accepted without passing the most rigid tests. This is the lesson which the book

before us enforces. It may be said that this is not new; but Mr. Jeudwine's great merit is to have directed attention to new sources, sources that at all events have not been utilised as they deserve, as well as to have stated and enforced, in the face of some of the most eminent of the modern writers of British history, the objections to those sources which they regarded as alone trustworthy.

The final chapters on the use of the materials are full of practical suggestions, the outcome of the author's own rich experience. His plea for the teaching of geography and elementary geology in connection with and as an essential part of the teaching of history, and his pages on the study of history are admirable. There is however one subject in the latter connection that might with advantage have been touched on. I mean the relation of history to science. It has been considered at length by Professor Teggart of the University of California in *Prolegomena to History, the Relations of History to Literature, Philosophy and Science.* Starting from the question frequently debated during the last half-century whether there can be such a thing as a Science of History, Professor Teggart reviews the methods on which history has been written and the ends to which it has been applied. Among others, the propagation of patriotism has, he shows, played a large part in it; and he might have added the driving of over-patriotism into madness as in the recent case of Germany. He shows that history cannot be fruitfully taught except on some philosophical basis. History is not merely a chronicle of successive events. Their causes must be traced and their outcome expounded. Moral questions cannot be ignored. The ideas which lie behind the forces at work in the world must be made clear. It is not enough to assert that history is a science; scientific principles and scientific methods must be brought into play. "The failure of history to become a science has been due primarily to the subordination of investigation to history-writing." "The failure of nineteenth-century historical scholarship has been due in some measure also to the arbitrary limitation of the investigator's outlook, consequent upon his preoccupation with documentary evidence. By insensible degrees, however, the historian has come to see that there is no hard and fast boundary between 'historic' and 'prehistoric' times, between 'historical' and 'unhistorical' peoples; the history of man includes man everywhere and at all times." The continuity of history is more than a phrase; it represents the real truth that history "cannot be confined to any one set of happenings or to any one category of facts." It is in fact the great study of Human Evolution; and it is through faithfully following out that idea that history becomes a science. "Anthropology and History differ only in so far as each represents the use of a special investigative technique." These two phases of

humanistic inquiry must be co-ordinated, as the relations between geology and biology are co-ordinated in other departments of science. The object of the investigator of this or that area of human activity would then " no longer be the creation of an æsthetic or philosophical synthesis of a complete whole, but the isolation and determination of the processes manifested in the phenomena with which he deals ; he would continue his critical investigation of facts, but always with a view to their bearing upon the central problem of Human Evolution."

In short the conclusions arrived at in this acute and carefully reasoned work are complementary to those of Mr. Jeudwine. Unless I am seriously mistaken the author of *The Manufacture of Historical Material* would recognise this and welcome them. Both writers regard history from an elevation that gives a broad outlook, yet with that clear and sympathetic insight which is the critic's highest endowment. If Mr. Jeudwine has omitted to draw the far-reaching inference that Professor Teggart has drawn, it is probably because his subject limited him to a comparatively small area of the vast landscape that history understood in the wider sense discloses.

Professor Teggart's work on the other hand deals not with the evidence on which historical conclusions must, to be sound, be built up and the manner in which that evidence must be treated in detail, so much as the wider issues involved in a general conception of the historian's function. His elaborate argument is worthy of the most attentive consideration of all to whom the study of history is more than a dilettantesque amusement. E. S. H.

PAINSWICK HOUSE COLLECTION. Catalogue of Books, Tracts, Broadsides, Leaflets, Election Squibs and Newspaper Cuttings, relating to the County of Goucester and the City of Bristol. Presented by Francis Adams Hyett, Esq., to the Gloucester Public Library. MCMXVI.

The recent appearance of this finely-printed catalogue deserves to be placed on record in our *Transactions*—as a Bristol member the writer would like to have this privilege—for probably few of our members know anything of this most generous gift, as they would not have seen the early announcement in the 1914–15 Annual Report of the Gloucester Public Library.

The collection, which comprised 99 volumes, containing 1,358 pamphlets and 1,500 single sheets, besides a number unbound, was offered to the Library in October, 1915, and most gratefully accepted with very high appreciation of the generosity of Mr. Hyett.

The Committee decided to print a special catalogue of the collection,

which was prepared by Mr. Roland Austin, of the Public Library, within a year of the receipt of the collection.

The writer wishes to say that the number of the separate pamphlets gives no idea of the multitudinous subjects included in the collection, and only an examination of the catalogue, or of the volumes themselves, will show the real value of this gift to the City of Gloucester and the county generally. It reminds one very much of the "Braikenridge" Collection given to the Bristol Library a few years since, though that was commenced nearly a century before Mr. Hyett began his.

The compilation of the work has been well done, and Mr. Austin deserves our hearty thanks for the most careful classification of the subjects, his main divisions being: (1) County, (2) Forest of Dean, (3) River Severn, (4) Gloucester, (5) Bristol, (6) Towns and Villages, (7) Biography, (8) Catalogues, (9) Local Writers.

These are again considerably sub-divided, with the addition of two indices, an author index and a subject index. What unusual help for the antiquary and literary student!

Members ought at once to secure a copy of this delightful volume for it is really more than a catalogue. The entries, numbering over 1,500, throw a wonderful side-light on all parts of the county, and include endless subjects not usually touched. It should induce some of our younger members to take up some special study.

To the writer this collection has a peculiar charm, and some hours given to a cursory examination of the volumes produced the determination to make a longer visit as soon as the "war-cloud" has passed over. On behalf of many working Bristol members of this Society, the writer offers grateful thanks to Mr. Hyett for his fascinating gift.

The volume has been delightfully produced by John Bellows, of Gloucester; the type has been carefully chosen, it is printed on hand-made paper, and some copies are bound in dark blue buckram.

J. E. P.

Recent additions to the Society's Library.

THE following works have been added to the Society's Library at Gloucester. A previous list will be found on pp. 226–227 of vol. xxxviii. of the *Transactions*. Particulars as to the use of the Library are printed on the inside of the wrapper of this volume :—

PUBLICATIONS OF SOCIETIES.

(In addition to volumes received in exchange.)

British Record Society :—
- Chancery Proceedings, 1649–1714. 2 vols.
- Devon Wills, 1540–1799.
- Taunton Wills, 1537–1799.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Proceedings and Communications, vols. 1–2, and various numbers completing the set of publications to date.

Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and Field Club. Transactions, vols. 7, 8, and 10. 1911–1915.
- Yr Encilion : journal of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and Field Club, Nos. 1–2.

Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club. Proceedings, vols. 1–15, 27, 28, completing the set.

Harleian Society. Visitation Series, completing the set :—
- Lincolnshire Pedigrees, vols. 2–3.
- Visitations of Sussex, 1530, 1633–1634.
- Visitations of Kent, 1663–1668.
- Visitation of Cheshire, 1613.
- Visitations of Surrey, 1662–1668.
- Visitation of Suffolk, 1664–1668.
- Visitation of Warwickshire, 1682–1683.
- Staffordshire Pedigrees.
- Visitations of Hampshire, 1530, 1575, 1622, 1634.

Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society. Original Papers, vols. 14–18.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Magna Britannia. By Daniel and Samuel Lysons. 1806–1822. 6 vols.

West Country Churches. By W. J. Robinson. 1914–1916. 4 vols.

The Genealogist, October, 1912, to October, 1916. Presented by F. A. Slacke, Esq. The journal is being continued as published.

Memoir of Lieut. T. E. G. Norton, 1916. Presented by Mrs. Norton.

Monumental Effigies in Somerset. By Dr. A. C. Fryer. Part 1. 1915. Presented by the Author.

ERRATUM.

Vol. xxxviii., p. 223, line 4, *for* "Pope Gregory" *read* "Pope Clement."

*** The Editor will be glad to receive notes of archæological finds in the county, and any other matters of local interest. He desires to draw the attention of members to the importance of preserving such records, and to the value they have in promoting interest in the subject.

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